

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That all who profess *want of confidence* in the Chiefs of the people, or of the army, who make *pasquinades*, excite riots or disturbances, shall be immediately apprehended, and carried before the newly-appointed judge of the police, Don Santiago Penicela, who will pass judgment according to the times and critical circumstances of the country. Imposing the punishment of death he shall consult me."—PALAFOX's Proclamation to the Aragonese.—*Nota Bene*: Palafox has been since beaten, and the Aragonese have, the French say, received them with open arms.

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## DUKE OF YORK.

(Continued from page 412.)

BEFORE I proceed with my commentary upon the published reports of the proceedings in the House of Commons, I cannot help directing the attention of the reader to the passage, which I have taken for a motto. They will find in it the practice of what the venal herd of writers amongst us, are so strenuously inculcating in principle; and, they will not fail to recollect, that, every where, the French have been opposed by similar practices. Is it any wonder, then, that the French should have succeeded? If a *want of confidence* in the chiefs of the people, or of the army, was to be a crime; if to make *pasquinades*, that is to say, to ridicule those chiefs, was to be punished with death, perhaps; if such were the powers of Don Santiago Penicela, and Don Palafox, the poor people had quite enough to do to keep themselves out of their clutches. It was useless, entirely useless, to endeavour to scare them with descriptions of the character and conduct of the French; for, how were they to form an idea of any thing worse than what they had? King Joseph might be very ingenious in his inventions for keeping the people down; but, was it possible, that the people could conceive, that they could possibly fall lower than that state, in which to profess *want of confidence* in their chiefs was to subject them to a fair chance of the halter? And why; for what reason, should Palafox be afraid of the effect of *pasquinades*? It has always an ugly look, when men, in power, set that power to work to stifle remarks upon their characters and conduct. The Supreme Central Junta, that is to say, the general government of Spain, began their operations by a proclamation, or decree, against "the licentiousness of the press;" and, we see, that, notwithstanding this, Joseph

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Napoleon is on the throne of Spain. He may establish, all over the country, judges, armed with powers similar to those of Don Penicela; but, it is not easy to conceive, that he will be able to surpass those powers.

—This is not the way to fight the French; this is not the way to preserve countries from being conquered by Napoleon; this is not the way to engage the people in a hearty co-operation with the government; and, those, I think, must be blind indeed, who do not now see, that, without such co-operation, no government will be able to stand against the arms of a powerful invading enemy. There is no one so blind; every one sees this; but, there are, and will be, some, who will affect not to see it, and which affection they will persevere in to the very last.—"Hate the French, or we will punish you." "Oh," "O! say you so," answer the people in their minds, "Why, then, what have we to fear from the French more than from you?" Thus it has been all over the continent. Men do not like to be threatened with the dark cell, or the halter; and they will, because it is in nature that they should, not only run the risk of sacrifices, but will actually make great sacrifices, in order to obtain vengeance upon those, who keep such threats suspended over their heads.

In returning, now, to the discussion, relative to the Duke of York, I will first endeavour to give a clear statement of what has been done by the House of Commons, whose acts, in this respect, owing to the length of the debates, and the many motions that have been made, have been rendered confused.—FIRST, Mr. Wardle proposed an Address to the king (see it, page 389), which address expressed the opinion of the House, THAT THE DUKE KNEW OF THE ABUSES, WHICH HAD BEEN PROVED TO HAVE EXISTED, AND THAT HE OUGHT TO BE DEPRIVED OF THE COMMAND.

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OF THE ARMY ; for which motion, when it came to be put, there were 125, and against it 363. This, though not *directly* and *explicitly*, contained the charge of corruption, and for this one hundred and twenty-five members *voted*, not including Sir Francis Burdett, who was so ill as to be compelled to leave the House previous to the division. The names of the members, who voted for this motion, I here record, in the hope, that my work will hand them down to the knowledge of their and our children.

|                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Adams, Charles             | Langton, William Gore    |
| Althorpe, Viscount         | Latouche, John           |
| Antonie, W. Lee            | Latouche, Robert         |
| Astell, Wm.                | Lefevre, Charles Shaw    |
| Aubrey, Sir John, Bt.      | Lester, Garland          |
| Bagenall, Walter           | Lloyd, James M.          |
| Baillie, Evan              | Lloyd, Sir Edward Pryce  |
| Baring, Thomas             | Longman, George          |
| Baring, Alexander          | Lyttleton, Hon. W. H.    |
| Bastard, John Pollexfen    | Madocks, Wm. Alex.       |
| Bewicke, Calverley         | Mahon, Viscount          |
| Biddulph, Rt. Myddleton    | Markham, John            |
| Bradshaw, Hon. Aug. C.     | Martin, Henry            |
| Brand, Hon. Thomas         | Maule, Hon. William      |
| Brogden, James             | Maxwell, William         |
| Browne, Anthony            | Milbanke, Sir Ralph      |
| Byng, George               | Mildmay, Sir Henry       |
| Calcraft, John             | Milner, Sir Wm. Mord.    |
| Coke, Thomas William       | Moore, Peter             |
| Colborne, N. White Ridley  | Morris, Robert           |
| Combe, Harvey Christian    | Moseley, Sir Oswald      |
| Cooke, Bryan               | Mostyn, Sir Thomas       |
| Craig, J.                  | Neville, Hon. R.         |
| Creevey, Thomas            | Noel, Gerrard Noel       |
| Curwen, John Christian     | Ord, William             |
| Cuthbert, Jas. Ramsey      | Ossulston, Lord          |
| Daly, Rt. Hon. Den. Bowes  | Parnell, Henry           |
| Dickenson, William         | Peirse, Henry            |
| Fellows, Hon. Newton       | Pelham, Hon. C. Anderson |
| Ferguson, R. C.            | Pochin, Charles          |
| Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. M.    | Porcher, Josiah Dupre    |
| Foley, Hon. Andrew         | Portman, E. B.           |
| Foley, Thomas              | Prittie, Hon. F. A.      |
| Folkestone, Visc. (Teller) | Pym, Francis             |
| Goddard, Thomas            | Ridley, Sir Matth. White |
| Gordon, William            | Romilly, Sir Samuel      |
| Grenfell, Pascoe           | Scudamore, Rich. Philip  |
| Halsey, Joseph             | Sebright, Sir John S.    |
| Hamilton, Lord Archibald   | Sharp, Richard           |
| Hibbert, George            | Shelley, Henry           |
| Honeywood, William         | Shelley, Timothy         |
| Horner, Francis            | Shipley, William         |
| Horrocks, Samuel           | Smith, Samuel            |
| Howard, Hon. William       | Smith, John              |
| Howard, Henry              | Smith, George            |
| Howorth, Humphrey          | Staniforth, John         |
| Hughes, William Lewis      | Stanley, Lord            |
| Hume, William Hoare        | Symonds, Thos. Powell    |
| Hurst, Robert              | Talbot, R. Wogan         |
| Hussey, William            | Taylor, Charles William  |
| Hutchinson, Hon. Chr. H.   | Taylor, William          |
| Jackson, J.                | Thomas, George White     |
| Jacob, William             | Thompson, Thomas         |
| Kemp, Thomas               | Tighe, William           |
| Kensington, Lord           | Townshend, Lord John     |
| King, Sir J. Dashwood      | Tracey, C. H.            |
| Knapp, George              | Turner, J. F.            |
| Lambton, Ralph John        | Vaughan, Hon. John       |

|                                   |                         |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Walsh, Benjamin                   | Whitmore, Thomas        |
| Wardle, Gwillim Lloyd<br>(Teller) | Wilkins, Walter         |
| Western, Charles Callis           | Williams, Owen          |
| Wharton, John                     | Winnington, Sir T. E.   |
| Whitbread, Samuel                 | Wynn, Sir Wat. Williams |
|                                   | Wynn, Ch. Wat. Williams |

—In this List ; this list, which is always to be kept in view by the country, there is one Military Officer, GENERAL FERGUSON, and one Naval Officer, ADMIRAL MARKHAM. SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, and Mr. C. W. WYNNE, are the only lawyers, that I know of, in the list.—Mr. Wynne's conduct has been very good indeed ; and Sir Samuel Romilly has confirmed all the good opinion which all men entertained of him.

The next division, not the next in point of order, but in point of importance, was that upon the motion of Mr. BANKES, for which, at full length, see page 392 of this volume. Upon this motion, which expressed, that the Duke *must have had a suspicion*, at least, of the *existence of the corrupt practices, and a doubt, whether the chief command of the army could with propriety, or ought with prudence to remain in his hands*; upon this motion, there were 199 *for*, and 294 *against* ; so that, here were 199 members of the House, who voted, that the Duke *must have had a suspicion*, at least, of the corruptions, and that it was neither proper nor prudent to leave the chief command of the army in his hands.

After this, the House adjourned until Friday, the 17th of March, when a motion by Mr. PERCEVAL, in the form of Resolution, was decided upon.—Mr. Perceval, as will be seen by a reference to page 390, proposed certain *resolutions*, to be followed by an *address*, which address will there be seen.—On the day to which we are now come, he new-moulded his resolutions, making one out of the two, and stating in that one, “That it was the opinion of the House, that there was no ground to charge his royal highness with personal corruption, or with any connivance at the corrupt and infamous practices disclosed in the evidence.” There was an Amendment to this, proposed by Sir THOMAS TURTON, which being negatived, a division took place upon Mr. Perceval’s Resolution, when there appeared *ayes*, 278, and *noes*, 196, leaving the king’s servants a majority of only 82. So that, to the proposition, that the Duke had NOT been guilty of *personal corruption, or connivance at such corruption* ; to this proposition, to this *acquittal* of the direct criminal part of the charge, there are 196 members to say NO.

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The next division to be recorded is that, which took place upon the motion of Mr. BRAGGE; but, before we come to that, it will be better to stop, and look a little at the *discussion*, which took place on the 17th of the month.—It was again, in this debate, urged, that the Duke, after the intended *reproof*, would *reform*; and, what sort of reproof Mr. Perceval had in view, the reader will have seen. As there is a most monstrous deal of *cant* in this, I wish to notice it somewhat particularly.—This idea of a hope of reformation does, indeed, harmonize perfectly with all the talk about the Duke's being *imposed upon*; about his having fallen into the *snares* of an *artful* woman; about his being *infatuated* by her; and about his being blinded by the *excess of his passion* for her. The passion was not, however, so excessive, as to prevent him from casting her off, aye, and that, too, *without paying her the promised pension*, without redeeming her body from imminent danger of a jail, in about seven months after he had vowed everlasting love to her; nor was it so excessive as to prevent Taylor from carrying a message to her (said to be from the Duke) threatening her with the *pillory* or the *Bastile*. But, how stand the facts, as to the probability of his being *imposed upon* by this *artful* woman? To read these speeches, expressing confident hopes of amendment; to read the whining, sniveling expression of sorrow for the existence of the connection, which had led to these disclosures; which had led to this exposure; which had led to this what Mr. Perceval, in his Address, calls *calumny* on the Duke; to read these, who, that was unacquainted with the real state of the case, would not suppose Mrs. Clarke to be another Millwood, and the Duke another Barnwell? Who would not suppose him to be a youth of 17 or 18 years of age? An infant at law? A mere chicken? Who would suppose him to be nearly *forty six* years of age, and to have been a *married man* for about *twenty years*? The Duke is three years older than I am; and he is two years older than a brother of mine, who has been a *grandfather* these two or three years past; while Mrs. Clarke, the *artful* Mrs. Clarke, is now, I believe, little more than *thirty years* of age. It may be, that the race of royalty, like trees and plants of the superior kind, require more time to bring them to maturity; but, then, let it be observed, that the Duke has had the *command of the army* for 12 or 13 years past, and that the argument of superior kind cuts deeper against

him than for him.—If I were, at my age, to set up a defence upon the ground of *infatuation*, of being blinded by *the passion of love*, would not the world laugh in my face? Would they not hoot me off? Would they not turn up their noses and the palms of their hands against me?—As to the *confidence*, which Mr. Perceval, in the close of his Address, expressed, “that his royal highness would keep in view the *uniformly virtuous*, and *exemplary* conduct of his majesty, since ‘the commencement of his reign,’” not knowing any thing personally of the conduct here spoken of, I do not pretend to offer any opinion with respect to the general power and tendency of that *example*, upon the efficacy of which Mr. Perceval seems to place so much reliance; but, taking it for granted, that the example is what Mr. Perceval describes it to be, it can have escaped no one, that *the Duke has had this example before him for the last forty-six years*; and, whether it is likely, that the example will now begin its operation upon him, is a question that I readily leave to the reader.—Before I quit this part of the subject, I cannot suppress the regret that I feel at perceiving, that, amongst many people, and those, too, who ought to know much better, the Duke is thought *worse* of for keeping a mistress than for any other part of the conduct imputed to him. This argues a most miserable, unmanly, pitiful way of thinking; it argues, that we are, as a correspondent expresses himself, “a dwarfed nation; “that our virtues, as well as our vices, are “all diminutive.” Not that I would justify, or excuse, or palliate, the conduct of an adulterer, and especially of an open adulterer, and one, too, whose example was likely to have so mischievous an effect; but this vice, great as it is, under any circumstances, and especially under such circumstances, sinks out of sight; it becomes not worthy of notice, when compared to the smallest of the acts of corruption, of low, villainous, dirty corruption, that have been, with what truth the reader will judge, imputed to the Duke of York. As to the former, there may, in some cases, exist causes that the world cannot know; but, there can exist no cause, other than that of sheer baseness of nature, for a man's doing that which has been imputed to the Duke, with regard to the trafficking in commissions and the like.—In the debate of the 17th, Mr. ELLISON is reported to have “declared his conviction, upon the “whole of the evidence taken together,

" that the Duke had been *privy to the whole of the transaction.*" Now, if this was the conviction upon the mind of any man, of what consequence, compared to it, could be the circumstance of the *adultery*?

Amongst the speeches most admired by me, during the prior discussion, was that of MR. CURWEN. It was bold, and yet temperate. It led the way in good sentiments, and did the speaker infinite honour. —In the debate of the 17th, the public will not fail to have seen a proof of great public virtue as well as of excellent good sense, in the speech of GENERAL FERGUSON, who is an officer of great merit; who, for his conduct at Vimeira, recently received the thanks of the House; and who plainly said, that, in his opinion, "it was not for *the honour of the army*, that the chief command should remain in the hands of the Duke of York." This opinion; aye, this single opinion, will weigh down a thousand addresses from the "Military Club," in London, and of which Club we shall see more by-and-by.

I wish to notice, in a most particular manner, the speech of MR. LYTTLETON, on the 17th; but, I must, in order to shew the application of a very interesting part of it, first go back to MR. CANNING's speech of the 15th, in which there are several things to notice. "A noble lord (Folkestone) had, on a former night, spoken with some asperity on what had fallen from him on the outset of this inquiry. He DENIED that he had said that infamy must attach to the *accused* or the *accuser*, though he did say that it must rest somewhere; and it did rest with that confederacy, of which the Duke of York had been the dupe and the victim. As he had in one instance been misrepresented by addition, he had in another been misrepresented by curtailment. When he said that some men might be led to doubt whether the licentiousness of the press did not overbalance its benefits, he had added, that the evil was temporary, but the good permanent." — Now, whether the reporters did, or did not, misrepresent Mr. Canning as to these two points; these two very important points; I cannot take upon me to assert, because I was not present to hear the words uttered; but, in the news-papers, which I saw, there was a perfect agreement in the reports as to these points; and, the public will have observed, that, it is not once or twice, but many times, that the words, respecting the charge of *infamy*, have been repeated; have been thrown in the teeth of Mr. CAN-

NING; and that, until in this last speech, he has never denied them, or given any explanation of them. On the explanation now given Lord Folkestone said: "With respect to the *supposed* assertion of the right hon. gent. of the charge of *infamy* attaching to the *accuser* or the *accused*—in what I said, I argued on the *supposition* that such an expression had escaped the right hon. gentleman. As however, he has so pointedly *disclaimed* and *disavowed* the expression, my observation must naturally fall to the ground. I, however, beg leave to say, that it was not from any *document* that I founded the presumption of his having used the expression—but upon what I thought I had heard with my own ears; it however appears from the statement of the right hon. gentleman, that I must have been mistaken, and therefore I shall not notice the subject further at this time than to express my surprise and regret, that the right hon. gent. did not take the earliest opportunity of denying the use of the expression, especially as I have not been wanting in affording him such opportunities." Indeed, his lordship had frequently called upon him; and once, in a more particular manner, as the reader will have observed, at the opening of Kennet, the *loan-maker's* case, when he complained, that Mr. Wardle had proceeded with the threat of infamy hanging over his head, in case of failure, and that that threat remained unretracted up to that very hour. Again, in his speech in the debates, he repeated what he had said before. Sir Francis Burdett, in his speech also noticed it, and that, too, in a manner to move a stone to speak. Yet, not a word of denial did we hear from the lips of Mr. Canning.—So! He said, it seems, that the *infamy* must rest "somewhere," he did say that; and now it does rest, he says, "with the confederacy, of which the Duke of York had been the dupe and the victim." Dupe! Oh, O! what, a commander in chief a "dupe!" A man a dupe, old enough to be a grand-papa! A dupe at 45 years of age! A grey-headed dupe! This must be another "misrepresentation," to be sure, especially after all that we have heard of the great vigilance of the Duke of York, and of his surprizing capacity for managing great affairs, and for discriminating characters.—Conspiracy is now become confederacy. A milder term; for a confederacy may exist for very wise and good purposes. But, really, it is somewhat sickening to hear, in

this case, even of a confederacy, after not the smallest traces of any combination, of any sort, have been discovered to have existed against the Duke of York. Every exertion has been made to discover such traces, and all have failed. Not a single jacobin has been ferretted out, though all the old regular traders in anti-jacobinism have been put in motion. No, no, Mr. Canning, there is no confederacy. Mr. Whitbread gave you a true and very beautiful description of the *cant of jacobinism*. There lies the source of the danger, and you may be assured, that you will find no trace of it any where else. To have found out a club of politicians, with *books and papers*, would have been worth a jew's eye, just at this time ; but, there is no such thing. There are not the means even of hatching a plot. The old, scrubbed, battered writers about anti-jacobinism cannot earn salt to the meat that is given them. Nobody will read their trash ; and, in time, they must absolutely die of hunger. They have made many attempts to revive jacobinism ; but they have all failed. They had found anti-jacobinism such a thriving trade, that they were loath to give it up. Buonaparté, when he put a crown upon his head, put an end to their calling. It was impossible, after that, to keep it up. They laboured hard to do it ; but it was too disgusting, when all the world saw that the tide was turned into the current of military despotism.—As to the expressions about the Press, there might be a *misrepresentation* ; but, then, we must allow, that the agreement of the reports was unfortunate here again ; and, what is more material, that the expression was, if it was as it now stands explained, without any meaning ; absolutely without common sense. “The evil was *temporary*, “but the good *permanent*.” We say this of taking medicine ; we say it some times of political commotions ; the existence of which are temporary. But, the press is *always* in existence, and *always* liable to be “licentious.” Unless, therefore, Mr. Canning should be able to make it appear, that there are certain periodical returns of “licentiousness” in the press, his amended expression, or explained expression, has no meaning. He gets rid of the offensiveness of it ; but he also gets rid of the sense.—As to the case of the Duke of York, as treated by Mr. Canning, if the several reports be correct, it received very little benefit indeed. The gentleman dealt most in the high strain of rank and prerogative. He approved

of Mr. Perceval’s Address, because, he said : “it was couched in language at once ‘respectful to the dignity, and tender to the feelings of his majesty. That alone was sufficient to recommend it. For on such an occasion, when the father as well as the sovereign was to be addressed, would not every loyal mind figure to itself the peculiar circumstances of the monarch on the throne. On submitting such a consideration to him, must they not be impressed by the idea of the *advanced age*; of the *inseparable infirmities*; of the exemplary life, and the many virtues of that illustrious personage, who, during the whole course of a long reign, had evinced towards the country such *paternal feelings*.”—

These are topics, upon which to touch with a tender hand ; but, these words I find published, in print ; upon these words I will comment ; and, if they elicit any thing that may give pain, let the consequence be upon the head of the publisher. Mr. Tierney, when they were uttered, did, it seems, call to order, observing, that the king’s name was used, in order to *influence the House* ; and, will not the same objection apply to the publishing of them ?

—Let me ask, then, *how*, in *what manner*, a king can evince *paternal feelings* towards the country ? It is easy to talk of *paternal feelings* ; to call a king the “*father of his people* ;” and so on ; but, let us come to the point of *practice* ; let us come to the *acts*. Now, the only way, in which, as far as I am able to discover, for a king to *evince* such feelings, is, in *sparing the purses* of the people, and in most carefully watching, that they be not robbed and plundered by any of those, who are in authority under him. I do not, under this interpretation, contradict the article I have quoted above ; I do not say, that the king has *not*, thus, evinced his “*paternal feelings*” towards the country ; but, I do say, that, when the having evinced such feelings was advanced as an argument in discussion, when it was used as an argument in justification of one Address proposed to the House, I could have wished to see a statement of the premises.—As to *age* and *infirmity* ; if these are to weigh in the decision of great and important matters before the House, uncertain and lamentable indeed is our situation ! “The king never dies ;” nor can the law know any thing about the king’s age and infirmities. The objectors to kingly government, when they dwell upon the dangers to be apprehended from *age*, *infirmities*, and *illness*, are

answered, that they are to leave all these out of the question; for, that the constitution takes care, that no wrong shall arise from them, the king always having "responsible" ministers; but, here, we see, that these fine theories are cast aside, and the House is desired to look at the age and infirmities of the king. What would the people say, if you were to tell them, that they were under the rule of age and infirmities? What would be the sentence upon any one of us writers, if we were to tell the people, that their affairs were left to be directed by age and infirmities? We deny this. We say, that the constitution gives us a security against the effects of age and infirmity in the king; but, Mr. Canning, one of the *king's servants*, bids the House of Commons look at the age and infirmities of the king, when they are about to pass a resolution relative to one of his own family; and, what is to be remarked is, that the measure he recommends, he does recommend upon the ground of its being calculated to *please* the king; that is to say, to please a person, whom he describes to be labouring under age and infirmities.

—Towards the close of his speech, Mr. Canning is reported to have alluded to some anecdote relative to an ancestor of Lord Folkestone. The speech appears to have been much abridged; but the words, as I find them, are these: "In the whole history of Addresses, such a one as this had never been framed by the heart of man, nor had the like ever before been presented to the House. It said no more nor less than this, 'We believe him to be guilty, but if he should happen to be innocent, we will still punish him as if guilty.' He hoped, however, such an Address of negatives would not be permitted to stand on the Journals of the House. The hon. gentleman who brought forward the charges had devised one of his own; but he had suffered others to interfere; and to inoculate or vaccinate it with matter of their producing; which had warped it from its natural purpose, and made it differ from itself. Some of those who had thus interfered, might have derived their presumption and pertinacity by an inheritance of the splendid vices of one of the mistresses of George II." — Upon this part of the speech, Lord Folkestone said: "On the subject, Sir, of the insinuation which the right hon. gent. has made, respecting transactions that took place before those from whom I derive my existence were born, it would be affectation in me to

"pretend that I do not understand the force and tendency of this allusion. The House shewed, by the general laugh which followed, that it was generally understood. That allusion, Sir, has been grounded not on any fact that has been proved, but on mere rumours, the truth of which those most interested and most desirous to discover the truth, have never yet been able to ascertain. He has thrown out these insinuations, either to influence my conduct or to attach some blame upon myself. If the motive be to influence my conduct, and that, too, by the allusion to transactions which took place before those to whom I am indebted for my existence, were born, I beg leave to ask the House in what view my conduct ought to be influenced by transactions, in which I thus had, and could have, no concern? If the object be to attach blame to me, I will only say, that we are told, that the Almighty visits the sins of the fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generation, but that I did not expect, that even that right hon. gentleman would have arrogated to himself such a power. I will leave it to the House to judge, not only of the fairness, the candour, the liberality, of the right hon. gent. but even of the decency of—[Here the Speaker interfered, by stating, with great mildness, that he would put to the noble lord the propriety of desisting from the course of explanation he was pursuing, as it certainly had for its object *direct personality* against the right hon. gent.—Much tumult ensued, and the Speaker expressed his hope that the House would interpose in such a manner as to express its opinion.]—Lord Folkestone resumed. "Sir, I will merely add, that I will put it to the judgment and moderation of this House to decide upon the fairness; the candour; the liberality; the decency; and the justice, of the personal allusions made by the right hon. gentleman." — Thus this matter dropped for that time, and somebody, I forget who, complimented Mr. Canning upon the *temper*, which he had discovered in the debate. His speech, it was observed, had, in itself, nothing very rich or rare, but the *temper*, with which it was delivered, was admirable.—On the 17th, however, the HONOURABLE MR. LYTTLETON revived this topic. "He adverted to some expressions which had fallen from the Secretary for foreign affairs the other evening respecting the origin of certain gentlemen in that House,

"The right hon. gent. had assailed them "through the medium of *old and obscure anecdotes respecting their ancestors*. Mr. Lyttleton beseeched the right hon. gent. "not to attack them by a species of warfare, in which they met him ON SUCH UNEQUAL TERMS (*loud laughter*), "considering the PECULIAR SPLENDOR of his own ancestry (*a roar of laughter*). He was really forced to guard himself against the attacks of the right hon. Secretary in this way, as, from what he said on a former night, he knew of what he was capable."—What could Mr. Lyttleton mean? I cannot say, that Mr. Canning is any favourite of mine; but, really as to his birth, I must say, that, from what I have always heard, he is descended from persons, who filled very exalted stations, and who acted their several parts as well as most people. But, if, instead of being so descended, he had been the spurious offspring of some filthy black-guard amour, what would that tell against him; especially in the liberal minds of the House of Commons, who had appeared to think, that Samuel Carter's being a natural child was a circumstance that told greatly in favour of his promotion to the army from behind the chair of Mrs. Clarke, who, by so many of the members, has been called an "infamous woman?" I wish, therefore, that Mr. Lyttleton had explained himself a little more fully; or else the reporters have not done their duty; for, what was that "*roar of laughter*" for? What was the meaning of it? And, I must say, that Mr. Canning's remarks of the propensity of the world to carp at high rank had but too much force in it. Kings and Dukes and Queens and Princesses, so many of whom, he has, from his very infancy, been accustomed to see and to know, must be more justly estimated by him than by the low and vulgar herd. Hence, too, we may easily account for the uncommon zeal, which he has discovered in the cause of Spain, or, rather of Ferdinand VII. It is quite delightful to hear his sentiments against the usurpation of the *upstarts*, who have been endeavouring to enslave "the universal Spanish nation;" the ardent, I had almost said, the holy zeal, which he has displayed against the *men of yesterday*, who wished to overturn every thing ancient and noble. He appears to have been very properly impressed with the truth of the French proverb, "Il vaut mieux qu' une cité périsse, qu' un gueux parvenu la gouverne;" which, indeed, contains little more than our own old saying: "Set a beggar on

"horse-back, and he 'll ride to the devil." He seems to have made just observation upon the cause as well as consequences of the ruling by upstarts, for which, indeed, the fate of Spain, under Godoy, has furnished him with an excellent opportunity; no wonder, therefore, that we are called upon to "spend our last shilling and shed the last drop of our blood," in order to keep out the upstart Buonapartés and their upstart generals, who were born nobody knows where, when, or of whom; those "children of many fathers;" those "spurious pledges, of beggars, littering under hedges;" creatures actually dropped, and left, like the young of the cuckoo, to be nurtured by the compassion of others. There are few things that sting the soul more sharply than to be obliged to submit to the insolent sway of these "gueux parvenus;" and, there are few sacrifices that men of any spirit will not make to avoid, or get rid of, such degrading submission.

Mr. LYTTLETON's speech, except in the want of explicitness upon the above point, was very good indeed. He expressed his conviction, "that these charges against the Duke of York were fully proved, if not according to the technical forms of the law, at least according to the plain sense of every unprejudiced man. The evidence, upon the whole, he considered as conclusive; and in opposition to that there was nothing on the other side but surmises and hypotheses, and the assertion of his Royal Highness. He could not but feel the weight of the testimony of his gallant friend behind him (General Ferguson), with respect to the improvements in the management of the army, effected by his royal highness the Duke of York; but he must observe, at the same time, that mere evidence to character could only be urged with effect in mitigation of punishment. He could not erase from his recollection the methods taken by the other side to counteract these accusations, in raising the cry of Jacobinism, and in prejudging the question. This was suspicious; but it was not very judicious, and he doubted whether if that eloquent magician (Mr. Pitt) who first raised the Phantom of Jacobinism, could again be equally successful. An attempt, let what would be done to explain it away, has been made to decry the liberty of the press. He allowed that the House was not to be actuated by popular clamour. But, at the same time, it was very unreasonable in ministers to say,

How like the Brownian phrase of  
Tamm Cobbat and all his Readers!

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## POLITICAL REGISTER.—Duke of York.

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"that those were influenced merely by popular opinion who did not concur with them. It would have had a better appearance if the ministers had not been quite so unanimous on this question. Our ancestors had a salutary distrust of persons in office; and in order to prove this, he read some resolutions passed in former times, to render members of parliament incapable, while acting in that capacity, of holding any other situation.—If it were in the power of the House to send down to posterity the character of the Duke of York unsullied, if their proceedings did not extend beyond their Journals, he should be almost inclined to concur in the vote of acquittal, even in opposition to his sense of duty. But though the House should acquit his Royal Highness, the proofs would still remain, and the public opinion would be guided by them, and not by the decision of the House. It was in the power of the House to save its own character, but not that of the Commander in Chief. The character of the House depended essentially upon the result of this inquiry. If it was contrary to what the public conceived the justice of the case, they would be apt to lose all confidence in the members, they would imagine that the ministers had it in their power to carry every thing—that there was no security for them in the house of commons against the arbitrary disposition of the servants of the crown—and perhaps they might be driven by other means to seek those ends of justice which their representatives had denied them. He, however, hoped better of the virtue and wisdom of the House, which he hoped would, like the fountain of justice, prove itself to be no respecter of persons."

This speech was received with great applause, which I look upon as a good sign. Aye, the magician, Pitt, would surely fail now, in any attempt to conjure up the phantom of jacobinism. That man of words would now find that the public mind is no longer so to be led. That the people of this country are no longer to be made believe, that every man is a traitor, who suspects that there is corruption on foot; that every man ought to die on a gallows, who does not cheerfully subscribe to the infallibility of the minister of the day. There is no want of the talents of Pitt; they are possessed by many of his followers, who can speak as long and full as

taken itself to thinking; it has become a fashion, among the people, to be no longer amused by sounds; things, ideas, and not words, are now the object of their attention. Within these ten years, there has been a *mental revolution* in this country. I should like to see what Pitt would be able to do, with all his talk, now. Indeed, he tried the thing in the last years of his life, and he failed. Death snatched him from as complete discomfiture and mortification as ever man experienced. His budget had been all tried, over and over. There was not a trick left, that the people had not blown upon.

In this debate of the 17th, there is a published speech attributed to a Mr. FULLER, who is reported to have said, that if there was any one who did not like England, damn him, let him leave it." The mind of the person, who uttered, or who wrote, these words, appears not to have partaken in the revolution above spoken of. It seems to have remained stationary, like the sterile and unseeded clod, amidst the improvements, the beauties, and the delights of heaven-bestowed vegetation. He, though his body has increased in age, and has advanced towards the hour of dissolution, seems to be, in mind, still living in the days of Pitt, in the days when anti-jacobinism was a thriving trade, and he one of its best customers.—Aye, this was the old cry: "if you do not like the country, leave it." But, the words must be explained: by the country they mean the government, and by the government they mean the ministry, and, in Pitt's time, by the ministry, they meant Pitt; so that the sentiment should stand thus, fairly reduced to its true meaning, "If you do not like the ministry, quit the country." No, Mr. Fuller, I will not leave the country, I will not leave England, upon any such principle as this. I like England very well; and, to say the least, I shew full as much love for it as you do. But I do not like corruption; I do not like to see the offices under the government, and the seats in the House of Commons, openly advertised for purchase and sale. The corruptions, "damn them," to borrow a phrase of your own; the corruptors and the corrupted, "damn them," I hate them most cordially! But, I do not hate England; on the contrary, it is my love of England that makes me hate them. Why, Sir, what would you think of the logic of a gang of thieves, who should have got possession of a man's house, and who, upon hearing him complain of their con-



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duct, were to say, If you don't like the house, "damn" you, leave it? Now, mind, I do not compare you, and those whom you support, to a gang of thieves; mind that; let me not be misunderstood; but, I use the illustration merely to shew to what length this abusive argument, which the news-papers, with one accord, have attributed to you, would naturally, and necessarily go.—If, indeed, you could bring me a man, who should say: "I do not like *England*," without any qualification of his meaning, I should then say, without the "damn him," perhaps, (though I will not be very positive about that), "let him leave it." But, my opinion is, that you never heard an Englishman make use of this expression; and, give me leave to say, that the occasion, and the context, of this sentiment of yours, as published in the papers, lead me to conclude, that by *England*, you did not mean our *country*, as being the object of any one's dislike.—I have noticed this speech, not on account of its intrinsic importance, but as affording an occasion of pointing out the intolerance, the injustice, and the insolence of the principle (first broached in the days of Pitt), that all those, who are discontented with the mode of managing public affairs, may *leave the country*; have the precious liberty, the glorious privilege, of seeking *redress* in voluntary transportation for life. I wonder what Hampden and his associates would have said, if the besotted Charles's courtiers had answered their complaints by telling them that they might leave the country. Why, they would have said what was said to his bigot and profligate of a son. "No: England is ours and *not yours*: leave you *England* to us." They were not so to be answered. They knew their rights, and had the courage to assert them.—This doctrine ascribed to Mr. Fuller, would, if generally applied, save a great deal of trouble to ministers; it would furnish a standing answer to all petitions, all remonstrances, all complaints of grievances of every sort. "Oh, you don't like *England*, don't you," why then, "damn you, leave it." It would be a complete stifler; a choaker equal to a halter at least.—It appears to have been, through the whole of the debates, admitted, that the people of this country in general, if not quite without exception, thought the continuance of the Duke of York in the office of Commander-in-Chief of the army, a grievance. This, called by one side, popular clamour, appears to have been urged

by some, and to be denied by none.—It is not impertinent, or unnecessary, to ask, *why* the people should have set up this clamour, if clamour it must be? *What* should have produced this unanimity of voice and of wish in the nation? For *what reason* a whole people should have thus combined against one man? Well, supposing there to have been no reason at all; supposing this whole nation to have been, and still to be, in this respect, under the influence of senseless caprice; still it must be, that this dislike to the Duke has arisen out of the Inquiry, or that it existed before: if the former, it shews what effect the evidence has produced upon the minds of the people; if the latter, that they never had any confidence in him. This dislike, too, might have no other foundation than senseless caprice; but, yet, if you allow it to have generally existed, it comes, at last, to the same thing, with regard to the application of Mr. Fuller's speech, which would go to the bidding of them all, "damn them," to leave the country.—Lord William Russell, in the debate of the 17th, regretted the loss of that laudable custom of our forefathers, who, *before* they voted money to the king, insisted upon a *redress of grievances*; but, upon the principle of Mr. Fuller's speech, the king should have said to them, "if you don't like *England*, "damn you, leave it." It is not long since another speech, published under the name of this Mr. Fuller, told us, "that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proved, that the Duke of York had, during the space of two years and a half, spent sixteen thousand pounds upon a profligate baggage, and if that would not satisfy the House and the people, he did not know what would." If this did not satisfy them, "damn them," they might leave the country, I suppose?—Mr. Fuller's language, *openly* used at least, has something singular in it; but, I, by no means, believe, that he is singular in his opinions, or in his language, as used not before the public. There are, in my opinion, many who think what he says, and who, to one another, give utterance to their thoughts. But, I trust, the time is now come, when no one will be able to act with impunity upon such a principle; when no one will dare to spurn the people, when they make their complaints of grievances, and to tell them, either in acts or words, that, "damn them," they may leave the country.

In the debate of the 17th, there came

out, through Mr. Whitbread, a statement relative to a certain MILITARY CLUB, who were preparing an *Address to the Duke of York*. This being a matter of great importance to the public, as a practical illustration of the arguments that have been frequently used relative to the influence of so large a standing army, all the officers of which are not only appointed solely by the king, but any one of whom can, at any moment, and without cause assigned, be dismissed, deprived of his profession, and, perhaps, of his bread, by the sole will of the king, no minister whatever being held, even nominally, responsible for any act of this sort; this instance of the military club affording such practical illustration, I shall insert, in the fullest manner that I find it reported, what was said upon the subject in the House of Commons.—MR. WHITBREAD said, “There was a very strange circumstance had come to his ears, with which he felt it incumbent on him to acquaint the house, and that was, that within these few days a meeting had taken place of General Officers, at which meeting it was proposed to address the Duke of York, on the present occasion, and to assure his Royal Highness of their gratitude and attachment. To what could the proceedings of such a meeting lead. If a number of General Officers were allowed thus to hold meetings and deliberate, why might not common soldiers imitate their proceedings, and sit in deliberation also? Was this a circumstance to be overlooked by the House? Was it not one of the most dangerous tendency? Was it not an attempt to erect an *imperium in imperio*, to interfere in the deliberative proceedings of that House, and to answer its arguments by fixed bayonets? He trusted it would be sufficient thus to have warned the House of the existence of such a meeting. The hon. gentleman concluded by observing, that what had transpired in the course of the present investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York, furnished a new proof, if any additional proof were wanting, of the necessity of a temperate reform, a reform which would extend not only to the administration of the army, but to the Government in Church and State.”—This last observation we must reserve for a future opportunity, with just observing now, that to this many men who never thought much of the matter before, have now made up their minds. They see, that without such a reform as was here spoken

of by Mr. Whitbread, there can very little good arise from any inquiry; any partial detection, exposure, or even punishment of corruptions and peculations; that you may cut down a shoot here and there, and even the whole stem; but, that it will throw out again, and even with renovated vigour; and that nothing worth prizes is done, until you have laid the axe to the root.—In answer to what Mr. Whitbread said about the *Military Club*, the Secretary at War, SIR JAMES PULTENEY, said “that he thought himself called upon to say a few words respecting the meeting of General Officers to which the honourable gentleman had alluded. There was some foundation for the statement of the honourable gentleman, but it was only this, that there existed in this town a club of Military Gentlemen, of which he was an unworthy Member. That club had lately met; and, at the meeting, some conversation had arisen, respecting the conduct of the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief. That conversation turned upon the services rendered by his Royal Highness to the Army; and the Members of the Club thought themselves bound in gratitude to testify to his Royal Highness the high sense they entertained of the eminent advantages which the army had derived from his able administration of the military affairs of the country. These sentiments they had resolved to express to his Royal Highness in the form of an *Address*, but their proceedings in this respect, had no reference whatsoever to the circumstances of the present moment, or to what was now passing in that House.”—No! “No reference whatsoever to the circumstances of the present moment?” This is very strange indeed; still stranger than the existence of an intention to send the address. Did the Club ever address him before? Did they ever think of this upon any former occasion? Oh! So the Club had lately happened to meet; and some conversation had arisen respecting the conduct of the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief of the Army. Yes, to be sure, all about soldiering, as the Volunteers call it; all about soldiering, and then the conversation, amongst these military men constituting a Club in London, turned, aye, it happened to turn, upon the services rendered by his Royal Highness to the army. That is all very good; very good, very “correct,” as the new phrase is. But, I cannot help stopping here; “I cannot help interrupting my argument,” as Lord Castlereagh some-

times facetiously observes, to notice that these military gentlemen are always talking about the Duke's services to the army. What is meant by this? We should like to hear of services to *the country*, performed by means of the army. These men themselves make a part of the army, and a part, too, which was not out of the way when the services were shared, I will warrant you. Well; but, "to go on with my argument," as Lord Castlereagh says; and so, the conversation happening to have turned upon the services rendered to the army, by the Duke of York, in his capacity of Commander in Chief, the Club, amongst whom were the Secretary at War, one of the ministry of the day, and a member of parliament, thought themselves bound in gratitude to present an address to the Duke; and, though this resolution of theirs was taken just at the time, that a question respecting the Duke's removal was before the House of Commons, this proceeding of the Club had "no reference whatsoever to the circumstances of the present moment, or to what was now passing in the House;" and so, it was all very well, and the fighting gentry were doing very right, and certainly meant nothing at all, not the least in the world, in the way of dragooning.—This puts one in mind of Scut's *ex parte* examination of his client in the Village Lawyer. "And so, the sheep run after you, and would insist upon being killed . . . Ye—, yes, I see, I see. And did you carry away the sheep, or the sheep carry you?"

—After all, however, it appears, that there is, in London, an establishment, called "the Military Club," that the members of that club do meet and deliberate; and that, amongst their deliberations, there has been one, the result of which was, a resolution to present an Address to the Duke of York expressive of their *approbation* of his conduct. Now, it will hardly be contended, that, if they have a right to do this, and it be proper for them to do this, the soldiers, in their several regiments, have not a similar right; and, as it would be too base to be tolerated for a moment, to contend that the right of expressing their sentiments, in this manner, to their superior officers, extended only as far as they went in the way of *approbation*, it follows, of course, that, unless this basest of base principles be avowed, that the soldiers have as good a right to meet, to deliberate, and to pass censure upon the commanding officers of their several corps, as these men have to address the Duke of York, which men, observe, in presenting an address of appro-

bation, tacitly assert their right to express their *disapprobation*, of the conduct of the same person. We have heard a great deal of the surprisingly excellent *discipline*, which the Duke of York has introduced into the army. The Secretary of War was himself one of the witnesses to character upon this score; and now, I think, he has obliged us with a practical instance of the truth of his statements.—In the debate of the 20th, Mr. Whitbread brought the subject forward again. This part of his speech, together with what was said by others, on the same subject, I shall now insert.—MR. WHITBREAD said "that he had a few words to state on the subject of a meeting of General Officers, to which he had referred on a former night. He said that the idea of the resolution which he had understood to have been come to by that meeting was not so entirely put down as had been stated, though indeed, he confessed, he had now no dread from it. He was now informed, that the proposal made at that meeting had been grounded on a letter from a Garrison Commander, and was drawn out in the hand-writing of Sir David Dundas. He was now even given to understand, that the proposition had been seconded by the right honourable general opposite (the Secretary at War), and that it was in consequence of the opposition of one General Officer present that it was withdrawn for the moment; not entirely set aside, but to be brought forward again on some future opportunity. The hon. gent. had been informed yesterday, by a very respectable person, a book-seller, who, he believed, was known to most of the gentlemen on the other side, that a clergyman had called on him, requesting that he would recommend to him a literary gentleman to correct a letter to be addressed to his royal highness by the Club of General Officers, telling him that he would do wrong were he to resign his situation. The bookseller, however, very properly desired the rev. gentleman to take back the address to the General Officer from whom he had received it, assuring him that the publication of such a paper was the most foolish step that could possibly be adopted. He had been told that there could no harm result from such meetings. He dared to say the fact was so, and that, as Cæsar stopped his tumultuous legions, simply by using the word 'Quirites,' it would be only necessary to remind them that they were soldiers. The hon. gent. declared his

"opinion, that a national sentiment prevailed that the son of the king was not a fit person to be Commander in Chief. The present inquiry had demonstrated that it was not fit that the son of the king should hold that situation. The house had been engaged in this inquiry from the 1st of February to the 20th of March. We, of course, saw the ease with which the son of the king could be removed from his situation. When the charges were first brought forward, gentlemen on the other side had stepped forward, and challenging the hon. mover to the inquiry, had said, "Oh! now at length you have come in a tangible shape; and we thank you for giving us an opportunity of meeting the charges." When the hon. gent. however, had proved his charges, he was told he was to have no thanks at all. For these reasons he thought the son of the king was not a fit person to hold such a situation. There was a time when the favourite son of a king had not been so treated. In a former reign when the Duke of Cumberland gave offence by concluding the convention of Closter Severn, he was at once removed and disgraced. Though he (Mr. Whitbread) was not prepared to say, that the hon. gent. who brought forward these charges ought to receive the thanks of the house, because in so doing he had only discharged his duty, he was satisfied that he had the thanks of the great majority of that house, and of 999 out of every 1000 individuals throughout the kingdom.—THE SECRETARY AT WAR said, he had only to repeat what he had said on a former night on the subject of the Club of General Officers. From the statement of the hon. member that the proceeding was founded on a letter of a Garrison Commander, one would think that a formal address had been proposed; this, however, was not the case. It was merely the subject of conversation, whether it might be proper to pass a resolution of thanks to the Duke of York then or at any other time. Nothing farther was done; so it was unnecessary for him to say that he did not second a proposition which had never been made. So far from it, no intimation of such a proposal was made till the cloth was removed from the table. It was then talked of, and it was agreed that at all events such a measure would not be advisable till the conclusion of the discussion now going on in the House of Commons. There were at the time only thirteen gentlemen present, and the proposition

"was not received with acclamations. As to any thing further on the subject, he was as ignorant of it as if he had not been present.—MR. WHITBREAD said, he understood the paper, on which the proposition was founded, was in the handwriting of Sir David Dundas. There were gentlemen now in the House who were present when the information was given to him, and they could state that this was the fact as he had received it. He begged to say one other word. He should be happy to hear from the Secretary at War if the proposition was now abandoned?—THE SECRETARY AT WAR said he had seen no paper in the handwriting of Sir D. Dundas. As to the other question, he could not say if the proposition was abandoned or not—MR. CANNING said, when he first heard of the circumstance alluded to by the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread), he stated, that it had his most decided disapprobation, as being one of the most improper steps which the army could adopt. If there did exist an attempt on the part of any Military Officers to protect the Duke of York against the Commons, a more culpable idea never entered into the heads of men. But, on the other hand, if it was only a simple conversation at a convivial meeting, he saw no occasion to swell it up into a matter of importance. If, however, the idea of making it a formal resolution of Military Officers as a deliberative body should at any time be entertained, the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) should find him one of his most determined supporters in inquiring into the business.—MR. WHITBREAD again stated, that he had been informed the paper had been read before dinner; and if thought necessary this fact might be inquired into.—GENERAL LOFTUS, referring to the club of General Officers, stated that he himself was not present, but that he had inquired into the particulars of a friend who was present, and the information he received was, that there was no paper produced, that the subject was started in a moment without any formality, and was carried on and dropt like any other conversation."—This comes as nearly up, as it can well come, to one of those arts, described in the vulgar but most beautiful and forcible figure of *drawing in the horns*. One can almost see the head drooping, and the soft member, gently, and, as it were by stealth, retreating to its intrenchments, and coiling itself snugly up.—There is one

thing, however, which I would wish the public to bear in mind, in connection with the existence of this Military Club ; and that is, that a very considerable part of the army, officers as well as men, consists of *foreigners* ; I say, *consists of foreigners*. Now, if these foreign officers compose, in part, this club, and if this club, (held in London,) is to deliberate in the way that has been described, I leave the public to say what is the nature of our situation. Had I been a member of parliament, I should certainly have called for the names of all those composing this association. Societies amongst *the people of England*, for deliberating upon public matters, are, I believe, forbidden by one of the laws, passed in the time of Pitt ; and, are these officers of the army to meet, then, and deliberate ? And deliberate, too, upon such important questions, as that which was then before the House of Commons ? This Military Club should recollect, that they are paid by the nation for the purpose of obtaining from them *military services* ; that the army costs this burdened people 23 millions of pounds sterling a year ; and that it is, or ought to be, expected from its generals, that they will busy themselves about other matters than making addresses to the sons of the king.

Having now noticed such parts of the Debates, up to Friday, the 17th, inclusive, that appeared to me the most worthy of immediate attention, I shall come to the proceedings of the 20th, beginning with the statement of Mr. Perceval respecting the Duke of York's having resigned the office of Commander in Chief. He said, that this took place on Saturday last, and that it was the Duke's own "*spontaneous motion*," founded upon the motives set forth in a paper, which Mr. Perceval then read to the House in the following words : "The House of Commons having, after a most attentive and laborious investigation of the merits of certain allegations preferred against him, passed a Resolution of his innocence, he might now approach his Majesty, and might venture to tender to him his Resignation of the Chief Command of his Majesty's Army, as he could no longer be suspected of acting from any apprehension of the result, nor be accused of having shrunk from the extent of an inquiry which, painful as it had been, he trusted he should appear, even to those who had been disposed to condemn his conduct, to have met with the patience and firm-

" ness which could arise only from a conscious feeling of innocence.—The motive which influenced him arose from " the truest sense of duty, and the warmest attachment to his Majesty, from " which he had never departed, and which " his Majesty had, if possible, confirmed, " by the affectionate and paternal solicitude which he had shown for his son's " honour and welfare upon the present distressing occasion. To his Majesty, as " a most kind and indulgent Father, as a " most gracious Sovereign, he owed every " thing ; and the feeling of this alone would " have prompted him to forego all considerations of personal interest in the determination which he had taken. It would " not become him to say that he should " not quit with sincere regret a situation " in which his Majesty's confidence and " partiality had placed him, and the duties " of which it had been his anxious study " and his pride, during fourteen years, to " discharge with integrity and fidelity. " Whether he might be allowed to add, " with advantage to his Majesty's service, " his Majesty was best able to decide."

—Mr. Perceval then suggested, that the motion of Mr. BRAGGE was become unnecessary. Mr. Bragge did not think so ; but, before we go any further, let us take another look at this statement of motives.

—For my part, I have had no opportunity of witnessing the conduct of the Duke, during the Inquiry and discussion ; I have seen nothing of him but in his Letter to the House, and in that I certainly discover neither *patience* nor *firmness*, though I discover enough of qualities of a very different sort.—But, " the House has," it seems, in his view of the matter, " passed a Resolution of his innocence." We have seen, in the former part of this Register, how many there were to say NO to the resolution alluded to, and the world is not ignorant of the circumstances, under which the Vote was given. But, was there ever, in all this world before, such a reason given for a man's quitting his office ? Certain Charges are preferred against him, as Commander in Chief ; " a Resolution of his innocence" of those charges is passed, and, this *having been done*, this Resolution having been passed, he resigns ! Wonderful ! Why, the world is turned upside-down.—If, indeed, the proceedings had been quite finished ; then he might, with some shew of plausibility, have said : " There ; they have completely acquitted me ; they have passed no vote for my removal, or having that object in view ;

"and I will now let them see that it was "not for my *office*, but for my *honour*, that "I made a stand." But, the fact was otherwise; the proceedings were not over; there was Mr. Bragge's motion for Monday, and it was almost reduced to a certainty, that that motion, after the passing of which he could not have remained in office, without an open rupture between the advisers of the King and a majority of the House, would have been carried by a decided majority. These were the circumstances, then, under which he resigned. — So, the occasion has been a "*distressing*" one, has it? This does not correspond well with the bold language, assumed, in his name, by Mr. Adam and Mr. Perceval, when the charges were first made. There was, then, a great show of hackle; there was nothing, amongst his partizans, but strutting and crowing. They were a main, against one cock; but, they have turned tail, and that, too, upon their own dunghill. "*Distressing* occasion;" well, then, the Duke knows, at last, what it is to feel distress himself. "*Distressing* occasion!" One cannot help hanging upon the words. There was nothing of this in the Letter to the House. Alas! I see very little of firmness here.—The expressions of *attachment to the King* have no harm in them, to be sure; but, I do not see the use of them, upon an occasion like this. No one had ever, that I know of, accused the Duke of a want of attachment to his father. It was of a want of attachment to the *public good*, that he was (with what truth the reader may decide) accused; and, in this statement of reasons, one might, without being very unreasonable; without entertaining any wish to see a member of the royal family degrade himself in the eyes of the world, have expected to meet with some expression of gratitude towards that public. To *his Majesty*, both as father and sovereign, he says he *owes every thing*. I do not wish to strain this sentence to mean, that he *owes the public nothing*; but, when I recollect how much he *owes* to that public; that good-natured, that generous public, I cannot say but I think that the public should not, in a paper like this, have been wholly omitted.

MR. BRAGGE, after a speech of some length, in which there was nothing worthy of our particular notice, made his motion in the following words:—"That while "this House acknowledges the beneficent "effects of the regulations adopted and "acted upon by his Royal Highness in

"the general discharge of his duties as "Commander in Chief, it is observed with "the deepest regret, that in consequence "of a connection the most immoral and "unbecoming, a communication on offi- "cial subjects, and an interference in the "distribution of Military Appointments "and Promotions has been allowed to "exist, which could not but lead to dis- "credit the official administration of his Royal "Highness, and to give colour and effect, as "they have actually done, to transactions the "most criminal and disgraceful." — To this motion LORD ALTHORPE moved an Amendment, after a speech which is too good not to be inserted here as far as, at present, I am in possession of it. This conduct in Lord Althorpe, Lord Milton, Mr. Lyttleton, Lord Folkestone, and several other young men of distinguished families, must give great hope to the country.—He said: "That there were one or two positions "advanced by the right hon. gent. who "had just sat down, in which he could not "entirely concur. With regard to the re- "gret of the right hon. gent. for the resig- "nation of the Duke of York, he admitted "that it was a great loss to lose the ser- "vices of those who had while in office "efficiently discharged their duty, but the "loss of the services of the Duke of York "was considerably lessened, when they "recalled in what manner it had been "proved at their bar that Royal Duke "discharged his duty. He differed also "from that right hon. gent. as to the great "use and importance he thought proper "to attach to the elevated rank of that il- "lustrious person. He (Lord Althorpe) "was rather disposed to think that such "high rank and affinity to the throne were "not the most recommendatory qualifi- "cations for the most responsible situation "under the crown, and he appealed to "those who heard him, if, in the course of "the late proceedings, their debates were "not, in some degree, influenced by con- "siderations of delicacy, inseparable from "any discussion, involving the character "and honour of one so near his majesty; "and therefore, it did appear to him to be "of the greatest importance that no person "should ever, for the future, be called to "such high situations but such as could be "completely responsible. Another asser- "tion of the right hon. gent. went to the "total acquittal of the Duke of York, at "to corruption or connivance. It was not "necessary now, perhaps, to go into this, "but as it was mentioned, he would state, "that he did think the Duke of York had

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"been proved guilty of connivance at the corrupt practices which had taken place; "and if his royal highness had continued in office, he thought that the House must have gone farther, and passed a sentence upon him that would have rendered his resignation unavoidable. With regard to their subsequent proceedings, he was of opinion, that the question stood in a state in which the House of Commons ought not to suffer it to remain. He wished to place it on the Journals, that the Duke of York had resigned. This notification would give consistency to the entire character of their proceedings, and bring it to its proper close, at the same time satisfactorily accounting why it was closed. Not, however, that he would be understood to say that he considered removal from office a constitutional punishment; but it would be in this case so far effective, as to preclude the possibility of that Royal Duke being ever re-appointed to a situation he has proved himself so incompetent to fill. No man can, or ought to hold that important situation, who was not in full possession of the confidence of the country. *The Duke of York has forfeited that confidence.* He has lost the confidence of the country *for ever*, and by consequence he must abandon all hopes of ever again returning to that situation. This was a severe lesson, but it was as salutary as it was severe; it would prove to all who may succeed that royal Duke hereafter, that it is not within the power of any sovereign, however beloved or confided in, to protect his most favoured servant from the just consequences of the mal-administration of his public duty. The noble lord then concluded with moving, "That his royal highness the Duke of York having resigned the command of the Army, that house did not now think it necessary to proceed any farther in the consideration of the evidence before the Committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of his royal highness, as far as that evidence related to his royal highness the Duke of York."—The debate then went on. Mr. Perceval objected to the word *now*; and, after a debate of considerable length, the Resolution was passed, leaving out the word *now*, which, to me, does not appear of very great importance; because, the sense seems to be fully expressed in the previous words, which contain the *reason* why the house does not think it necessary to proceed any further. *The Duke having resigned, &c.* is

quite sufficient. The sentence, in common language, says this, "we do not think it necessary to go on any further, because the Duke *has resigned.*" NOW could hardly be intended to mean, that it was meant to keep the thing in waiting, to see whether he again took the command. If it was, it was useless; because, proceedings can be adopted in such a case, and reference can be made to all the evidence, which has now been taken at the bar. Not that I, either, would be understood to insinuate, that *loss of office* is to be regarded as "*constitutional punishment,*" as the Nabob's Gazette would fain make us believe it to be. This would be a pretty doctrine indeed; a pretty distinction between the service of the public and the service of an individual. The paper, which I have just mentioned, and which is, I believe, the only one in all England that has had the bare-faced profligacy to justify all the acts of the Duke of York, says he has been "*severely punished;*" forgetting, apparently, the other column of its dirty sheet, in which it contends, that the Duke's resignation was *perfectly voluntary*, and that he had no desire to retain his office. A bad cause or a bad memory is, either of them, bad enough; but when they unite they are sure to make a most ridiculous figure.

Mr. Whitbread, during this debate, charged Mr. Perceval with having *deserted* the Duke; this the latter denied, asserting, that the Duke's resignation was his own "*spontaneous motion.*" But, let any one look at the Address, prepared by Mr. Perceval, and read to the house, in the first day's debate; let him look at that address, which was little more than an echo of the Duke's Letter to the house, and then say if there has not been desertion. The public must have observed, that Mr. Perceval, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Canning, the Attorney General, Mr. Plomer, Mr. Burton, Mr. Leycester, and, indeed, all the set ministerial members, who spoke in the debate, dwelt upon the great *injury* the country would sustain in *losing* the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief. "But, it was his *own spontaneous motion.*" He would not stay in. But, why did they not get him to remain, till they had negatived *Mr. Bragge's motion?* They, surely, who had got him to wait so long, could have prevailed upon him to wait two days longer. The motion was to be made on Monday, and they could not get him to wait that time. Zounds, then! don't let him boast so much of his *patience.* Why, he must have been as impatient to get out of office

as most men are to get into office, and as he himself was, according to his pretty letter from Sandgate, to get into the arms of Mrs. Clarke, poor woman!—When the Duke sent his letter to the House, did any one suppose, that he would have made a spontaneous resignation of his office? Did that letter, either in its tone or matter, indicate the most distant idea of this sort? On the contrary, did it not, in every line, breathe defiance? Look again at Mr. Perceval's proposed Address, which is an echo to that letter, and see whether its object, its chief object, be not to tell the king, that the House will go with him in keeping the Duke of York in his place. Again look at the several speeches, on the ministerial side of the House, and see whether they did not labour principally to this point. Recollect the concluding words of the Attorney General, who gave such strong reasons for believing, that the Duke would not abuse his powers for the future. The Solicitor General said, that you might as well stab the *Duke of York* to the heart, as to pass a vote for his removal; and, though he explained this away a little afterwards, it is clear, from the remarks upon it, in the House, that so he was understood. It is, then, as clear as noon-day, that the settled purpose was to keep the Duke in his place; and, there can be no doubt, that this purpose was, at last, given up only when it was perceived, that there would have been a majority for the motion of Mr. Bragge, after passing which motion it would have been impossible for him to remain without producing an open war between a majority of the House and the King's servants.

Well, be this as it may, whatever might be the motive, *out he is*, and, so far the public wish has been gratified. But, how much better would it have been, if he had resigned at an earlier period? How much better would it have been, if, at the outset, the *servants of the king* had acted in the manner which I formerly pointed out, and which was, indeed pointed out by the nature of the case? If they had so acted, instead of fighting the Charges, inch by inch; instead of causing a clear line of distinction to be drawn between them and those persons who were not hostile to the Inquiry; if they had so acted, there would not, as there now is, be a guide to direct the public resentment whereon to fix itself. The public are pleased that the *Duke of York* is out of office; they are convinced that this is for their good; they are satisfied that this is a happy event.

But, whom do they thank for it? Towards whom are their grateful feelings directed? Aye it is in this that the ministers have been highly blameable. It is their fault that the public gratitude is not directed, in part, at least, in that way, in which it was their first duty to have caused it to be directed, and to produce which cause they had it completely in their power, unless it be true, that, as Mr. Whitbread stated, they were not the efficient ministers of the king. What the public has now gained they thank themselves for, next after *Mr. Wardle*. They see that nothing has been conceded to them, without reluctance; and even in the motives stated by Mr. Perceval, for the Duke's resignation, they find no expression, not a single word, which is calculated to awaken in them sentiments of a description, which wise ministers would have bent their whole minds to keep alive.—Jacobins, indeed! Those are the jacobins; those are the true destroyers of thrones, who omit nothing that may tend to irritate and disgust the people; who push them on to the utmost stretch of their patience.—It is useless to tell us, that the ministers *had nothing to do with the Duke's resignation*. We should as soon believe, that Mr. Perceval had nothing to do with the keeping of the secret about the note in the hands of Sandon. In short, it is quite in vain to endeavour to palliate their conduct, which, towards the people, has, from first to last, been any thing but gracious; and that the people most sensibly feel.

There was a part of the speech of Mr. Whitbread of the 20th, that did not at all square with my ideas upon the subject. It related to those *great allowances*, which we are to make for the *failings of princes*; and it did, to me, appear very much like courtly flattery, and that, too, of the worst sort.—“An hon. gent. proposed to read the Duke of York a lecture on morality. He (Mr. W.) did not think this a very fit time for such a lecture. A sufficiently long and grave one had been read to his royal highness in the course of the examination. The situation of princes was a very difficult one. They were exposed to greater temptations than others, without the same means of resistance. They almost always wanted that valuable acquisition—an admonishing friend. Such a friend was with them so rare, that to speak the truth to a prince had been always considered as a characteristic of extreme boldness. ‘He

"is a bold man this," it had been said, "for he has spoken the truth even to the King." Some allowances in a moral point of view were due to persons in such a situation. Another strong reason why the House should not read the Duke of York a lecture on morality was, the situation in which the princes were placed, from the necessity of the case, of not being allowed to form those connections of the heart which were permitted to every other subject. He did not say that this was a case in point with respect to his Royal Highness. The observation was general; but he thought it was a reason why the House should not readily throw stones at princes on account of their improper connections. We had, he observed, one Royal Duke whose character for morality and correct conduct, stood as high as that of any man; and, considering the circumstances to which he had alluded, the greater temptations and the difficulties attached to the situation, it would not be an easy matter to prize such a character higher than it deserved." —A nicer dish of flattery than this I do not recollect to have ever seen, even in a romance; it must, one would suppose, be relished even by him, who was so very delicate in his palate, that Mrs. Clarke found it frequently necessary to change her man-cooks, of which she had a brace at a time. "A difficult situation?" In what is the situation of one of our princes difficult? Do they want money? Do they want for any thing, which other men have? I can see nothing that they want for, which this world can afford. Instead of being exposed to greater temptations than others, they seem to me to be exposed to none of those temptations, which form the apology for the vices of men, in common life. They have not, he tells us, "the same means of resistance." I wish he had attempted to show this; to give us reasons for what he asserted. For my part, unless we admit their impunity to be legalized, I can see no check upon the vices of other men, which does not exist with respect to them. Indeed, this doctrine of Mr. Whitbread would go much farther than he appears to have perceived. If it be sound with respect to princes, it must, in due degree, be equally sound with regard to nobles; and, in short, rank and riches will become, in themselves, an apology, if not a justification, for vice. "From him to whom much is given, much shall be required," says the Gospel, which,

let it remain untortured by priest-craft, always speaks the voice of justice and of common sense; but, Mr. Whitbread would reverse this great maxim, and would have us believe, that, because much is given, little ought to be required. "Difficulty" indeed! What difficulty is there in a prince's living a sober, a regular, and a decent life? In well-ordering his affairs; in choosing for his companions men of sense and of good character; in keeping his expences within the bounds of moderation; in regularly and faithfully discharging all demands upon him; in keeping his word upon all occasions; in carrying himself towards the public in a manner at once gracious and dignified? What "difficulty" is there in this to a person, who has no care about providing the means of his present, or his future, support, and whose income is as sure as his existence? So far from this being difficult, that it appears to me to come to a man as naturally as his teeth or his nails; and, that, if we suppose his nature not to be radically bad, the difficulty must be in avoiding it. — As to the want of an admonishing friend, whose fault must that be? His own. If, indeed, the princes of England were, like those of Barbary, shut out from the world, there might be some force in this observation; but here they mix in society; they are free to choose their companions; there is neither law nor custom to restrain them, and they have shown us, that they know how to exercise this freedom. If, then, their friends, or the persons that approach them, the persons in whose society they delight, and whose virtues, or vices, they will be apt to imitate, be not such as Mr. Whitbread could wish, the fault is with themselves, and with themselves alone. —I think the moral part of the apology equally deficient in sound reason. Shall they, because the law restrains them from marrying whom they please, urge that as an excuse for not observing the obligations of matrimony, when they have voluntarily entered into it? For, there is no law to compel them to marry; and, therefore, if they ever do marry without that affection of which Mr. Whitbread speaks, so much the greater their shame. At any rate, when once married, they have, leaving the solemnity of the vow out of the question, entered into a compact; and, to break that compact is an act of dishonour in itself, an act of injustice and of cruelty towards the weaker party to the compact, and an injury committed against the public, against

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every father and every mother, who have children liable to be led into vice and consequent misery by such an example. Mr. Canning has told us, in his usual high manner, that, the characters of princes are *public property*. Indeed, not only has this been said, in varying phrases, twenty times, during the debate; but, we constantly hear it, especially in cases of *libel*, from the Bench; and that, too, as applied to all men in high situations in the state. With reference to the latter use, which is made of this notion, one cannot refrain from observing, that that is a very odd sort of *property*, which the *proprietors* dare not touch, even so far as to ridicule it. But leaving this to remain along with the other consistencies of that curious law, let us see a little how the notion squares with the doctrine of Mr. Whitbread. The character of princes, being *public property*, ought, one would naturally suppose, to be the more carefully guarded. What is a man's own, he may do what he pleases with; but that which is the property, wholly, or in part, of another, he is bound to manage according to certain rules of equity and propriety. Mr. Whitbread, however, seems to think, that this property, which is held in trust, is to be less attended to by the actual possessor; he thinks, that, though the immoralities, though the adulterous life of the Duke of York, stands proved, and, on all hands, confessed, the House should not "throw stones" at him; that is to say, should not give him "a lecture on morality."—With respect to princes *not married*, and the temptations they may be exposed to, whatever apology may be found for their departure from the strict letter of the law, there can be none found, discovered, or invented, for their departure from the rules of *decorum*. Here passion can put in no plea. Their character, we are told, is to be specially *protected* by the *law*, because it is public property; what *right* have they, then, to set an example of dissoluteness of manners, injurious to the nation at large? I do not say, that they do this. Mr. Whitbread's argument is general, and so is mine. There can be no "temptation," other than the invitations of a really vicious heart, to outrage public decency. Nature, in her best form, dictates to us to draw a veil over the gratifications towards which she most strongly impels us. The manners of this country have been formed under this amiable and unerring guide; and, against those manners, he who commits an open outrage, is guilty of a very grave offence.

He discovers not only a want of moral virtue in himself; but a want of respect for it in others. He reverses the qualities of the magistrate: he is an example to evil-doers, and a terror to those who do well.—True, the situation of unmarried princes has something peculiar in it, in regard to female connections; but, if we find a hardship here, do we find nothing of peculiar advantage to weigh against it? Celibacy, in the legal sense, may be their lot; but it is also their lot to enjoy, without any exertions or cares, on their part, almost every thing which men desire in this world; besides, let us not forget, that the *law* does not impose celibacy on them. They (like all other children, 'till 21 years of age) are left, in this respect, to the will and pleasure of their *father*. It is not the *public*, nor any law, on the part of the public, that prevents them from marrying. The matter is left wholly in the Royal Family.—I can see, therefore, but very little excuse to be got out of the peculiarity of their situation, for any departure from the strict letter of the law, which excuse would not apply to every other man; while, on the other hand, I can see abundance of reasons, why an open defiance of decency should be regarded as *more* criminal in them than in other men; why the restraint should be greater, and why the temptation should be less. While they have all the means of making the least disgraceful selection of their connections, they have also all the means of rendering the connection as little scandalous as possible. They have, in this respect, many advantages, which men in general cannot possess; and if, instead of profiting from these advantages; if, instead of drawing a veil over their connections of this sort; if, instead of keeping them in the back ground, any prince were to expose them to the public; were to intrude them upon the notice of the people; were to boast of his bastardizing deeds; were to exhibit, as it were in triumph, the pledges of prostitution; would Mr. Whitbread still say, that we should not "throw stones" at him? I will put it to Mr. Whitbread, as a husband and a father (in both which characters he is said to be eminently good), what he thinks must be the effect of such an example; and, whether he does not think, that, by the force of such an example of triumphant vice, the grey hairs of many a father would not fail to be brought with sorrow to the grave? The happiness of the people; the fidelity of husbands and wives, the innocence of children, and

the comfort of parents; these, forming the great features of happiness, are full as much “*public property*” as are the characters of princes and men in high offices of state; nay, they are, in truth, a great deal more so; and, shall the public have no means of redress, when this inestimable property is assailed, and that, too, through the misuse of those means, which are furnished by the public themselves? Shall they, when they return from church, and from hearing “the king’s Proclamation against Vice and ‘‘Immorality,’’ be drily told, that princes are under “great temptations”? — Of the endeavour to chip and shave and scrape and rub and polish down the charges against the Duke of York to a mere matter of crim. con., I think as Mr. Whitbread does; but, while, considering the Duke in his high public capacity, as Commander in Chief, I lose sight of this, when I am contemplating the Charges and the Evidence before the House; I cannot, when this is made a subject of separate discussion, think it a matter to be treated in the light manner, in which Mr. Whitbread attempted to treat it.

In the close of his speech, Mr. Whitbread did justice to the conduct of Mr. Wardle. In alluding to what Mr. Canning said, about a *Vote of Thanks* to that gentleman, and which vote, if brought forward, the latter declared himself ready to oppose; Mr. Whitbread observed, as the public will remember to have been the fact, that, when Mr. Wardle first brought forward his charges, the ministers, with one accord expressed their *joy*, that the imputations against the Duke had, at last, assumed a “*tangible shape*.” The COURIER news-paper, to which the public are infinitely indebted for its exertions upon this occasion, and particularly for its good, plain, thumping arguments, rallied them most delightfully upon this “*tangible shape*;” but, still they appeared insensible. They *thanked* Mr. Wardle too. Yes, they *thanked*, the “d—d good-natured friend,” as Sir Fretful does in the play, for having told the parliament what the wicked world said of the Duke. They might, indeed, grind the word between their teeth; but they really did say, one and all, that they *thanked* him. Well, now the affair is over; for a few days, at least, (for Lord Folkestone has given notice of a motion about the Duke for the 17th of April, and his lordship is not given much to joking;) Mr. Wardle’s Charges are now over; and, it seems but reasonable, since he has had so much labour, and has really

done much more than could be expected of him or of any human being, that these Thanks of the ministers should be moulded into a “*tangible shape*,” and put upon the records of parliament; and the intention, as expressed by Mr. Canning, of opposing such vote, if proposed, does appear to me to be capable of no consistent explanation; unless, indeed, the ministers are prepared to assert, that, owing to their clever mode of proceeding, the Duke owes his fall *to them*, rather than to Mr. Wardle; and, that, therefore, in voting thanks to him, they should be loading him with their own trophies. Upon any other ground, I cannot see how they can have the face to oppose such a motion. Whatever they may do, the nation will thank him, and will esteem and love him as one of its very best friends and greatest benefactors; as one of the few men, who, in these times of corruption, have shown themselves uncontaminated.—The people will thank him. They have began to thank him, some proofs of which I here insert:

“A JUST TRIBUTE TO COL WARDLE.—As a wish has been very generally expressed by the inhabitants of this city and its neighbourhood that COLONEL G. L. WARDLE, M. P. should be publicly acknowledged, for his manly and disinterested conduct in his present arduous undertaking; an opportunity will be afforded them of doing so, by subscribing an ADDRESS to that independent member of the British Parliament, of which the tenor follows:—We, hereunto subscribing, Inhabitants of the city and suburbs of Glasgow, hereby testify our unbiassed and unprejudiced opinion,—“*That COLONEL WARDLE, by first stepping forward, and by his conduct throughout the whole of the Investigation now pending in the honourable the House of Commons relative to his royal highness the Duke of York, has proved himself to the world, to be one of the most Magnanimous, Patriotic, Firm, and Candid Men in his Majesty’s Dominions.*”—All those who wish to mark and distinguish the conduct of this intrepid and persevering Representative of the People, and who concur in the plain and obvious sentiment contained in the above Address, will have an opportunity of joining in expressing it, by signing subscription papers, which will be opened on Thursday first.—At the shop lately possessed by Mr. Steel, Shoemaker, No. 97, Trongate;—D. Grieve’s Stocking-shop, No. 468, at the Cross;—The Session-House,

head of Havannah-Street;—Both the Burgher Session-Houses, Campbell-Street;—Bridgetown Session-House;—The House of John Low, Grocer, Cross-Loan, Street, Calton;—And at the Relief Session-House, Anderston.—*Glasgow, March 14th 1809.*”

—The City of Canterbury has also, in the most formal manner, voted him their *thanks*, and the freedom of that City, as appears from a Letter, which I have this day received, enclosing a copy of their Resolution, in the following terms:—

“CITY OF CANTERBURY, AND COUNTY  
“OF THE SAME CITY.—At a Court of  
“Burghmote, holden at the Guildhall of  
“the said City, the twenty-first day of  
“March, 1809;—Resolved: That this  
“Court duly considering the very laud-  
“able and patriotic conduct of G. L.  
“WARDLE, Esq. M. P. in calling the at-  
“tention of the House of Commons to the  
“conduct of the Commander in Chief, do  
“return him their grateful and sincere  
“thanks; and in testimony of the high  
“approbation this Court entertain of the  
“able, manly, and spirited manner, in  
“which he conducted the proceedings,  
“that the FREEDOM of this ancient and  
“loyal City be granted to him.—And it  
“is ordered by this Court, that the City  
“Seal be affixed to the above Resolution.  
“By the Court, HAMMOND, *Town-Clerk.*”

—This, upon which, probably, Mr. Wardle will set as much value, as he would upon a vote of Thanks from *Mr. Canning*, is, I dare say, a mere beginning, in an official way, of giving utterance to an expression of what is felt by every impartial and independent man in the country.—I was surprised to hear Mr. Whitbread say, that *he* was not prepared for a vote of thanks. It would be curious to hear his *reasons* for this; and I do hope, that he will have an opportunity of stating them. I am certain his objection to such vote (if, indeed, he has one) has not arisen from any little motives of personal pique, or, which would be still worse, envy: I fully acquit him of that. But, if he does oppose such a vote, I shall ascribe his opposition to those motives of *party*, which have so long been the bane of this country. The good, the very brightest gem, of this affair, is, that it has been unsullied by the smear, the ugly smear, of party. If it had been brought forward by a party, it would have failed. Mr. Sheridan did the cause, by his disclaiming it, a service never to be sufficiently praised; and, not less because it was the farthest thought from his heart

to wish to render the cause such service. In *him*; in his closing acts, Mr. Wardle, and this nation, has an instance of what *party* leads to.—One would think, that those who call themselves the Opposition, must be blinded by infatuation equal to that ascribed to the Duke of York, not to see, that the nation cares not a straw for them, their motions, or their speeches; nay, that to cool the indignation of the people at any act of the ministers, the effectual way is for *them* to appear to participate in that indignation. Their blindness must surpass the blindness of moles, if it prevents their perceiving, that, into such disrepute have they fallen, that their acting in a body is sure to blast their individual exertions. Mr. Whitbread regretted that princes “wanted an *admonishing friend*;” and so do parties. The Opposition, like the Archbishop of Granada, do not seem to perceive the effects of the apoplexy; but, good Lord! is it possible, that such a man as Mr. Whitbread should not see the indifference that prevails; the total, the worse than death-like indifference, that prevails, with regard to all their motions and debates? Is there, in the whole kingdom, one town or city containing a dozen men, free from all views of gain, who would give the toss-up of a half-penny for their return to power and place? From my heart I believe there is not. The public mind has taken a new turn; the farce of *Opposition* no longer captivates, or amuses. It is a stale trick. The mockery of patriotism is not calculated any longer to impose upon a public that pays fifty millions a year in taxes. The Morning Chronicle calls this a new era in the history of the parliament; but this is only the effect of a new era in the popular view of politics and politicians; and what has been done is but a mere beginning, a mere breaking of the ice, in that salutary and constitutional change, which, without *destroying* (as the anti-jacobins would fain have us believe it will) any part of the King’s just prerogatives, will be a great blessing to his people. *The dismission of the Duke of York!* I, who have taken openly, and who have inwardly felt, as much interest as any body in the proceedings, have never cared one farthing about it; that is to say, unless it was to be the forerunner of some general measure, some effectual check, some radical change of a great constitutional nature. I should hate myself if I could have written so many papers, with such a pitiful object in view. I would as lief the Duke of York



should now be at the Horse Guards as Sir David Dundas, if no effectual remedy be to follow; and, though I think Mr. Wardle entitled to the thanks of the nation, I should not be very eager to give him mine, if I thought it possible for him now to stop.

" Think nothing gain'd, he cries, 'till nought re-  
main,"

must be the maxim of the man, who means now to render his country service. He must give corruption no rest, 'till he has destroyed her and the very spawn of her. And, are feats like these to be expected from a prating, pleader-like Opposition? A disciplined corps; a set of hunters after office; who like and dislike in a body? No, it never can be and never will be; and of this the country is as well assured, as I am of this pen's being in my hand.—Mr. Whitbread seems satisfied; I am not, and never shall be, as long as I see an Apothecary General, who meddles with no business whatever; who rides in his coach and four, deriving 12,000 pounds a year out of the taxes, and who (oh! indelible shame!) pockets ten shillings a day, as an officer upon the staff, and who declares this, at the same time that he declares that he never meddles with any business. This is upon record, in a Report before the House of Commons; no measure has been taken upon it; and, while this is the case, I am not satisfied, nor can I be satisfied. To those who merit pensions for real services to the public, or for real losses sustained for the sake of the public or the king, I grudge nothing. But, I do grudge every single farthing that goes in the way above described, or in any such manner; and if it was not that I hope to contribute towards the overthrow of such abuses, I never would write another line as long as I live.

*Botley, Thursday, 23rd March, 1809.*

#### SUBSCRIPTION FOR MISS TAYLOR.

This Undertaking promises very fair for success. The Public have felt and acted, upon the occasion, as I expected they would. The names of Subscribers, as they come, are inserted, in THE TIMES, MORNING CHRONICLE, COURIER, STATESMAN, and other news-papers, through the liberality of the proprietors, whose conduct merits great applause. When the Subscription is closed, I intend to publish the List complete in the Register; and, if any Lady or Gentleman should see their name

omitted in the papers now, I shall be glad to have the error corrected.—MR. TIMOTHY BROWN, who has lent so much assistance to us, was so good as to send me, yesterday, an extract of a letter from a friend of his, who, in consequence of the base insinuations, against this young woman, published, last week, in the Morning Post news-paper, took the trouble to make, in person, particular inquiries, at Chelsea, which extract, from motives similar to those, from which the inquiry was made, I here insert.—“ With respect to Miss Taylor, I “ felt myself called upon to inform myself “ whether I was advocating the cause of “ a deserving unprotected female, or sup- “ porting a worthless woman. With this “ view, I proceeded to Chelsea, and, after “ the most rigid scrutiny into her history, “ character, and connections, among her “ neighbours, I could find nothing against “ her but her poverty. The very circum- “ stance of her endeavouring to obtain an “ honest and reputable livelihood, by “ keeping a school, is an argument of a “ virtuous disposition. Her scholars having “ been withdrawn by their parents the in- “ stant it appeared she was a relation of Mrs. “ Clarke, is a proof that her scholars were “ respectable; and her merit will appear “ the greater when it is recollectcd, the “ temptations held out to her by the “ blandishments of prostitution were more “ than sufficient to warp her from the “ line of right, if her mind had not “ been well fenced with good principles. “ She had it also in her power to have “ corrected the errors of fortune by taking “ up the business of an Army Broker. “ Her credit with her relation, Mrs. “ Clarke, might well have induced her to “ have recourse to such ways and means, “ if she had been disposed to engage in “ such dishonorable traffic; but it no “ where appears that she ever mixed her- “ self with such concerns, or that she “ neglected the most sacred trust, with “ which she had charged herself, to par- “ take of the revelries at Glo'ster Place. “ My enquiries were rigid: I asked this “ question, whether male visitors frequent- “ ed her house; or any of her scholars “ accompanied her to Mrs. Clarke's? To “ these important questions I received a “ direct negative. These facts I will beg “ you to communicate to your friends.”

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The several communications that have recently been made to me, I shall, the writers may be assured, not fail to make

use of, in that way, which will, doubtless, be most likely to further the views of the several writers.

#### OFFICIAL PAPERS.

**PRUSSIA.**—*Letter of the King to the Magistrates of Berlin.*—24 Dec. 1808.

WORTHY, beloved, and faithful subjects, my provinces being evacuated by the French, my attention is now directed to the accomplishment of my heartfelt wish of returning to my capital of Berlin, with the queen my spouse, and my family—an object which I have by all possible means endeavoured to attain since the conclusion of peace. I have given orders that the constituted authorities shall leave this place for Berlin, as soon as the districts on the other side of the Vistula have begun to breathe a little from the effect of the heavy burthens they have sustained in furnishing carriages and supplies, both before and during the evacuation of the country. This short interval I shall employ in a journey to St. Petersburgh, in consequence of the repeated friendly and urgent invitations, both verbally and by letter, of his majesty the emperor of Russia. I shall expedite my journey, and hope, within a few weeks, to revisit my provinces on the other side of the Vistula, to which I owe so many proofs of exemplary fidelity; and I shall in particular hasten my return to Berlin, to testify to my subjects of that city my gratitude for their firmness and good conduct, and to assure them of my attachment and satisfaction. I inform you hereof, and command you to notify the same to my loving and faithful citizens of that city; and I am your loving sovereign

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

**SPANISH REVOLUTION.**—*Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the French Army of Spain, dated Valladolid, Jan. 16, 1809.*

"On the 10th Jan. the head-quarters of general the duke of Bellune were at Aranjuez.—Here he learned that the remains of the army, which had been beaten at Tudela, were re-united in the neighbourhood of Cuenca, after having been joined by the new levies from Granada, Valencia and Murcia. The king of Spain conceived the possibility of drawing out the enemy. With this view, he ordered all the posts to fall back, which had advanced to the mountains of Cuenca, beyond Tarazona and Huete. The Spanish army followed this movement. On the 12th, it was stationed at Vélez. The duke of Bellune then took post at Tarazona and Fuente de

Pedronara. On the 13th, the division of Villatte marched directly against the enemy; while the duke of Bellune, with the division of Russin, took a circuit by Alcazar. As soon as general Villatte discovered the Spaniards, he advanced to the charge, and put to the rout the enemy's 12 or 13,000 men, who immediately endeavoured to retire by Cara-cosa on Alcazar. The 9th reg. of light infantry, the 24th, and the 96th of the line, presented to the enemy a wall of bayonets. The Spaniards threw down their arms. 300 officers, two generals, seven colonels, 20 lieutenant-colonels, and 12,000 men, were made prisoners. Thirty standards, and all the artillery, have been taken. One Venegos, who commanded these troops, has been killed. The whole of the captured army, with its colours, escorted by three battalions, will, to-morrow, (the 17th), make its entrance into Madrid.—This success does the greatest honour to the duke of Bellune, and to the conduct of his troops. General Villatte manœuvred with skill, and general Russin distinguished himself: so did general Latour Mauburg. The young Sopransi, chef d'escadron of the 1st dragoons, threw himself into the midst of the enemy, displaying a singular bravery. He brought six stand of colours to the duke of Bellune. — The general of artillery Senarmont conducted himself as he has always done: when the enemy's army found its retreat was cut off, it changed its direction. General Senarmont then occupied a narrow pass with his artillery, and upon this pass it was that the enemy directed his course, in order to find out an opening. The artillery had little escort; but the canoniers of the grand army had no need of it. General Senarmont placed his guns in square battalion, and fired with grape shot. The enemy's column again changed its direction, and turned to the quarter from whence it came, to lay down its arms.—The duke of Bellune praises M. Chateau, his first aide-de-camp. He recommends also general Semelle, and colonels Jaimin, Meunier, Mouton, &c. officers whose bravery and skill have been tried in a thousand actions.—In Galicia the English still continue to be pursued at the point of the sword. After having been chased from Lugo, three parts of them took the direction to Corunna, the fourth that to Vigo, where they have transports. The duke of Dalmatia has advanced towards Corunna, and the duke of Elchingen to Vigo.—Deputations of the Council of State of Spain,

of the Council of the Indies, of the Council of Finances, of the Council of War, of the Council of Marine, of the Council of Orders, of the Junta of Commerce and of Money, of the Tribunals of Alcaldes, of the Municipality of Madrid, of the Clergy regular and secular, of the Order of Nobility, of the Corporation, major and minor, of the inhabitants and parishes of the different quarters of Madrid, were presented to the Emperor and King on the 16th, at Valladolid.—The following Addresses have been presented to his Majesty :

Address of M. le Count de Montarco, in the name of the Council of State.—Sire, The Council of State is happy in having the honour of being presented to your majesty the Emperor and King, in order to return you its homage of thanks for the generous clemency which you have deigned to manifest towards the supreme Council of the monarchy. What gratitude does it not owe you for having snatched Spain from the influence of those destructive councils which fifty years of misfortunes had prepared for it—for having rid it of the English armies, which threatened to fix upon its territories the theatre of continental war, and to inflict upon it the disorders and the ravages which are usually in its train! Grateful for all these benefits, the Council of State has still another supplication to lay at the feet of your Majesty. Deign, Sire, to commit to our loyalty your august Brother, our lord and king. Permit him to re-enter Madrid, and to take into his hands the reins of government; so that under the benevolent sway of this august prince, whose mildness, wisdom, and justice, are known to all Europe, our widowed and desolate Monarchy may find a father in the best of kings. Sire, we have sworn to obey him; we have offered him the homage of our fidelity: we will keep our oath: and your Majesty shall have no cause to regret, either the confidence you shall deign to repose in us, or the clemency which you have exercised towards us.'

Address of Don Bernardo Iriarte, in the name of the Council of the Indies.—‘Sire; The Council of the Indies has the honour to present itself to your majesty the Emperor and King, in order to offer to you the homage of its profound respect, in beseeching you to grant it your sovereign protection. It entirely submits itself to the decrees of your Majesty, and to those of your august Brother the King our Master, who is to create the happiness of Spain, as well

by the wisdom and the assemblage of the lofty virtues which he possesses, as by the powerful support of the Hero of Europe, upon whom the Council of the Indies finds the hope which it has of seeing re-united those ties which ought always to unite the American possessions with the Mother Country.’

Address of D. Manuel de Valanzuela, in the name of the Council of Finances.—‘Sire; The Council of Finances has the honour to offer to your Imperial and Royal Majesty the homage of its profound respect. Uniting its intreaties to those of the city of Madrid, it implores your Imperial and Royal Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to confer upon it the favour to permit it to behold in Madrid the august and beloved Brother of your Majesty. The Council expects from this favour the felicity and repose of the kingdom, which is its sweetest hope.’

Speech of the Marquis de las Amarillas in the name of the Council of War.—‘Sire; The Supreme Council of War has received with the most lively gratitude the honour which it had solicited of laying at the feet of your Imperial and Royal Majesty its respectful homage, and most humble thanks, for the clemency which your Majesty has displayed towards the city of Madrid.—It unites its supplications to those of the Representatives of Madrid, that your Majesty, through an effect of your august beneficence, will confer upon this capital and its district the felicity of granting them the presence of their King, Joseph the 1st, in order that his government may confer upon us the tranquillity and the advantages which we expect from it, and of which the Spanish nation has so urgent a want under the actual circumstances.’

Speech of the Lieutenant-general of Marine, D. Joseph Justo de Salcedo, in the name of the Council of Marine.—‘Sire; The Council of Marine has the honour of presenting to your Imperial and Royal Majesty the homage of its profound respect. It unites its intreaties with those of the Council of State, and others which have preceded it, imploring your Majesty, that for the welfare of the country you will be pleased to confer upon it the favour that your august Brother may reign in Spain for the repose and tranquillity of all the kingdom. The Council desires that the zeal of the body of the Marine, and its labours for the service of the country, may, under the influence of such wise laws, contribute to the liberty of the seas,

and to draw more close the ancient and legitimate bond which unite the two worlds.'

Speech of D. Pirerra, in the name of the Tribunal of Alcaldes de Casa y Corte of Madrid.—' Sire ; The Alcaldes of the Imperial Household and Metropolis have the honour to present to your Imperial and Royal Majesty, the respect and homage of their Tribunal. They are ordered to present to you the most humble thanks, for the clemency with which your Majesty, the conqueror of Madrid, has been pleased to treat this city, and implore you to forget its errors ; that your Majesty will be pleased to receive the assurance of the fidelity with which this city will obey your august Brother, a promise of which all the inhabitants are hostages ; and that your Majesty will be pleased to grant their earnest entreaties, that his Royal Majesty may honour them with his presence, and take the reins of government. The Tribunal will omit nothing which depends upon itself, in order to confirm the people in the sentiments with which they are animated, purging them from the evil-minded who tried to seduce them, and will consider it as a great felicity to be furnished with the means of shewing their attachment to your august person, and that of the beneficent Sovereign, whom it hopes to receive at your hand.

The Speech of D. Juan Masanillo, Corregidor of Madrid, in the name of the City of Madrid, of the Body of Nobility, of the Ecclesiastical Body, of the five Corporations, &c. &c.—' Sire ; The whole city of Madrid has repaired to the churches. Its first sentiment was that of thanking Heaven for the clemency which your Majesty evinced towards the capital, and through which we have escaped the calamities which threatened us. Its second sentiment has been that of fidelity and obedience towards its king Joseph. We have the honour of presenting to-day to your Imperial and Royal Majesty, the register which contains 27,500 signatures by fathers of families, and by all the heads of houses established in the capital. The city of Madrid will be faithful to its king. It has charged us to lay this assurance at the feet of your Majesty, and to promise in its name that its sentiments will never change. A prince who unites all the great qualities which distinguish our king, who, by his alliance with your Majesty, assures us a perpetual peace upon the continent, who is endowed with every generous sentiment, and with all the prin-

ples of a good administration, can alone assure the felicity of Spain, and re-establish the prosperity of the state. The whole city of Madrid implores you, Sir, to entrust to it the person of the King. The felicity of Spain will not commence again, until he shall be restored to the wishes of his subjects. It will be only from the date of this day, that Spain will enjoy the hope of being for ever sheltered from the calamities which factions, civil dissensions, and bad citizens, draw after them.'

" King Joseph will make his entry into Madrid the 18th or 19th of this month.—Relays have been sent on the road towards Bayonne. It is believed that the Imperial head-quarters will instantly be set in motion."

*Thirtieth Bulletin, dated Valladolid, Jan. 21.*

The duke of Dalmatia left Betanzos on the 12th inst. Having reached the Mero, he found the bridge of Burgo cut. The enemy was dislodged from the village of Burgo. In the mean while general Franceschi ascended the river, which he crossed at the bridge of Sela. He made himself master of the high road from Corunna to Santiago, and took six officers and 60 soldiers prisoners. On the same day a body of 30 marines, who were fetching water from the bay near Mero, were taken. From the village of Perillo, the English fleet could be observed in the harbour of Corunna.—On the 13th, the enemy caused two powder magazines, situated near the heights of St. Margaret, at half a league from Corunna, to be blown up. The explosion was terrible, and was felt at the distance of three leagues.—On the 14th, the bridge at Burgo was repaired, and the French artillery was able to pass. The enemy had taken a position at two leagues distance, half a league before Corunna. He was seen employed in hastily embarking his sick and wounded, the numbers of whom, according to spies and deserters, amounts to 3000 or 4000 men. The English were in the mean while occupied in destroying the batteries on the coast, and laying waste the country on the sea shore. The commandant of the fort of St. Philip, suspecting the fate intended for his fortification, refused to admit them in it.—On the evening of the 14th we saw a fresh convoy of 160 sail arrive, among which were four ships of the line.—On the morning of the 15th, the divisions Merle and Mermet occupied the heights of Villaboa,

where the enemy's advanced guard was stationed, which was attacked and destroyed. Our right wing was stationed on the point where the road from Corunna to Lago, and that from Corunna to Santiago meet. The left was placed behind the village of Elvina. The enemy was stationed behind some beautiful heights.—The rest of the 15th was spent in fixing a battery of 12 pieces of cannon; and it was not till the 16th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, that the duke of Dalmatia gave orders to attack.—The assault was made upon the English by the first brigade of the division Mermet, which overthrew them, and drove them from the village of Elvina. The second regiment of light infantry covered itself with glory. General Jardon, at the head of the Voltigeurs, wrought a terrible carnage. The enemy, driven from his positions, retreated to the gardens which surround Corunna.—The night growing very dark, it was necessary to suspend the attack. The enemy availed himself of this to embark with precipitation. Only 6000 of our men were engaged, and every arrangement was made for abandoning the positions of the night, and advancing next day to a general attack. The loss of the enemy has been immense. Two of our batteries played upon them during the whole of the engagement. We counted on the field of battle more than eight hundred of their dead bodies; among which was the body of general Hamilton, and those of two other general officers, whose names we are unacquainted with. We have taken 20 officers, 300 men, and 4 pieces of cannon. The English have left behind them more than 1500 horses, which they had killed. Our loss amounts to 100 killed, and 150 wounded.—The colonel of the 47th regiment distinguished himself.—An ensign of the 31st infantry killed with his own hand an English officer, who had endeavoured to wrest from him his eagle. The general of artillery Bomgeat and col. Fontenay have signalized themselves. At day-break on the 17th, we saw the English convoy under sail. On the 18th, the whole had disappeared. The duke of Dalmatia had caused a caronade to be discharged upon the vessels from the fort of Santiago. Several transports ran aground, and all the men who were on board were taken. We found in the establishment of the Palloza (a large manufactory, &c. in the suburbs of Corunna, where the English had previously been encamped), 3000 English muskets. Magazines also were seized, containing a great

quantity of ammunition and other effects, belonging to the hostile army. A great number of wounded were picked up in the suburbs. The opinion of the inhabitants on the spot, and deserters, is, that the number of wounded in the battle exceeds 2500 men. Thus has terminated the English expedition which was sent into Spain. After having fomented the war in this unhappy country, the English have abandoned it. They had disembarked 38,000 men and 6000 horses. We have taken from them, according to calculation, 6,500 men, exclusive of the sick. They have reembarked very little baggage, very little ammunition, and very few horses. We have counted 5,000 killed and left behind. The men who have found an asylum on board their vessels are harassed and dejected. In another season of the year not one of them would have escaped. The facility of cutting the bridges, the rapidity of the torrents, which in winter swell to deep rivers, the shortness of the days, and the length of the nights, are very favourable to an army on their retreat. Of the 38,000 men whom the English had disembarked, we may be assured that scarcely 24,000 will return to England. The army of Romana, which at the end of December by the aid of reinforcements which it had received from Gallicia, consisted of 16,000 men, is reduced to less than 5000 men, who are wandering between Vigo and Santiago, and are closely pursued. The kingdom of Leon, the province of Zamora, and all Gallicia, which the English had been desirous to cover, are conquered and subdued. The general of division Lapisse has sent patroles into Portugal, who have been well received there. General Maupetit has entered Salamanca; he met there with some sick of the English troops.

*Intercepted Letter.—St. Jago, Jan. 6, 1809.*

"I suppose, my dear friend, you are already acquainted with my arrival at this place; I have been here these eight days, with a detachment composed of troops from seven different regiments.—We are guarding the magazines that are here; and I hoped to continue at St. Jago for some months, which would have given me great pleasure. As I am a person of some consequence, I am never addressed but as a Seignor, the Commander of the English troops; I am well lodged, and have an agreeable society about me, all which comforts I shall be very sorry to quit. The French are the most uncivil people

in the world. I think they have very little to eat or drink themselves, and, therefore, they have nothing to do but to annoy us poor fellows, when we are just sitting down to a good repast.—Last night I was called up by a Spanish dragoon, who brought letters from Corunna, informing me that a part of our army would soon reach St. Jago, and that I must hold myself in readiness to march along with it upon Vigo. I could not close my eyes the whole night, for thinking at every instant that our troops were arrived; but till the present moment not one man has made his appearance; and I begin now to think that the whole has been a dull joke. As you are nearer the theatre of war than myself you will oblige me by giving me a true account of the present state of affairs. If there is reason to think that we are going to re-embark, and to be, as it were, hunted out of the kingdom, without ever coming to blows, a pretty figure we shall make of it! I think I already hear COBBETT's sarcasms upon us, who will not fail to represent us as the *heroes* of Spain, cooped up in their own transports. (Signed) L. E. THURN."

#### *Thirty-first Bulletin.*

The English regiments bearing the numbers 42, 50, and 52, have been entirely destroyed in the battle of the 16th, near Corunna. Not 60 men of each of these corps embarked. The general in chief, Moore, has been killed in attempting to charge at the head of this brigade, with the view of restoring the fortune of the day. Fruitless efforts! This troop was dispersed, and its general slain in the midst of it. General Baird had been already wounded. He passed through Corunna to get on board his ship, and did not get his wound dressed till he got on board; it is reported that he died on the 19th. After the battle of the 16th, a dreadful night passed at Corunna.—The English entered in confusion and consternation. The English army had landed more than 80 pieces of canon; only 12 were re-embarked: the remainder has been taken or lost; and by a return made, we find ourselves in possession of 60 pieces of English canon. Independent of two millions of treasure the army has taken from the English, it appears that a treasure more considerable has been cast away among the rocks and precipices which border the road from Astorga to Corunna. The peasants and the soldiers have collected a great quantity of silver among the rocks.

In the engagements which took place during the retreat, and prior to the battle of Corunna, two English generals were killed, and three wounded. General Crawford is named among the last. The English have lost every thing that constitutes an army—generals, artillery, horses, baggage, ammunition, magazines. On the 17th, at day-break, we were masters of the heights that command the road to Corunna, and the batteries were playing upon the English convoy. The result was, that many of the ships were unable to get out, and were taken at the capitulation of Corunna. Five hundred horses were also taken still alive, 16,000 muskets, and a great deal of battering cannon abandoned by the enemy. A great number of magazines are full of preserved provisions (munition confectionnes), which the English wished to carry off, but were obliged to leave behind. A powder magazine, containing 200,000 lbs. weight of powder, has also fallen into our hands. The English, surprised by the issue of the battle of the 16th, have not even had time to destroy their magazines. There were even 300 English sick in the hospital. We found in the port seven English ships—three were loaded with horses, and four with troops. They could not get out. The fortress of Corunna is of an extent which secures it from a coup de main. It was therefore impossible to enter it before the 20th, in virtue of the annexed capitulation. In Corunna we found above 200 pieces of Spanish cannon. The French Consul Fourcroy, the general Quesnel, and his staff; M. Bougars, officer of ordnance; M. Taboureau, auditor; and 350 French soldiers or seamen, who had been made prisoners either in Portugal or on board the ship Atlas, have been delivered up. They express great satisfaction at the conduct of the officers of the Spanish navy. The English will have gained by their expedition the hatred of the Spaniards, shame, and dishonour. The flower of their army, composed of Scotchmen, has been either wounded, killed, or taken. General Franceschi has entered St. Jago de Compostella, where he found some magazines and an English guard, which he took. He marched immediately upon Vigo. Romana appeared to have taken this route with 2500 men, all that he could rally. The division of Mermet marched on Ferrol. The air about Corunna is infected by the carcasses of 1200 horses whom the English killed in the streets. The first care of the duke of Dalmatia has been to provide for the restoration of salubrity, equally important to

the soldiers and the inhabitants. General Alzedo, governor of Corunna, appears to have taken part with the insurgents only from the constraint of force. He took the oath of fidelity to king Joseph Napoleon with enthusiasm. The people manifest the joy they feel at being delivered from the English.

*Convention between his excellency the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, and Commander in Chief of the Troops of his Majesty the Emperor and King in Galicia, and General Don Antonio Alzedo, Military and Civil Governor at Corunna.*

Art. 1. The place of Corunna, the fortified works, the batteries and ports which depend on it, artillery, ammunition, magazines, charts, plans, and memoirs, shall be given up to the troops of his majesty the emperor and king, Napoleon. For this purpose his excellency the marshal duke of Dalmatia shall be at liberty to take possession of the gate called the Lower Tower (*la tour d'en bas,*) this evening.—2. The Spanish garrison which is in Corunna; the persons in civil authority, as well judicial as administrative or financial; the clergy, and the inhabitants in general, shall take the oath of fidelity and homage to his majesty the king of Spain and the Indies, Don Joseph Napoleon.—3. The persons concerned in the civil administration, as well judicial as financial; the intendant general of the kingdom of Galicia and of the province of Corunna, the Corregidores, Alcaldes, and other functionaries, shall be provisionally preserved in their employments, and shall exercise their functions in the name of his majesty king Joseph Napoleon. All the acts of the civil administration shall be made in the name of his said majesty.—4. The military of the garrison, whatever be their rank and employment, may enter into the service of his majesty, king Joseph Napoleon, and be allowed to retain the same rank, after having taken the customary oaths of fidelity and allegiance, as is provided in the second Article.—For this purpose a list of the names of the principal and inferior officers and soldiers shall be made out.—This list shall be certified by his excellency general Don Antonio D'Alzedo, governor of Corunna, to the end that a particular destination may be given to the military, according to the orders of his excellency the minister of war in the kingdom of Spain; but in the mean time the military shall wait at Corunna. The means of subsistence and quarters shall be

furnished to them as to the French troops. The officers, and those employed in the royal marine, who are at Corunna, are included in the present Article, and must await at Corunna the orders of the minister of Marine.—5. The Military of the garrison, whatever their rank, who wish to quit the service, shall be at liberty to retire to their respective habitations, after they shall have received their dismissal in due form, under the authority of his excellency the minister at war; and on taking the oath of fidelity described in the second Article.—Such as refuse to take such oath shall be considered prisoners of war.—6. The property of the inhabitants shall be respected, and no contribution shall be levied on them, but a subsistence for the troops in garrison shall be provided by the province. That the places of public worship, and the government, shall be placed under safe custody; religion shall be respected, and its ministers shall be protected in the exercise of their functions.

—7. The administration of the royal revenues shall be continued as heretofore, but in the name of, and to the use of his majesty king Joseph Napoleon; and to that effect, all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as well as those employed for the king, shall continue to fulfil their respective functions, and shall be paid according to their several appointments.—

8. If any one employed in the courts, or in the administration, shall be desirous of resigning his office, his resignation shall be accepted, and no one shall prevent such measure; and if he should desire to leave the town with his effects and property, he shall be permitted so to do, granting him proper sureties, and a passport for that purpose.—9. The deputies of towns, and all other individuals, called to form a part of the Junta of the kingdom of Galicia, may return to their houses, with their equipages and their property, if they shall so wish; and an escort shall be granted to them for their personal security, on their requiring it.—10. Every inhabitant of the place shall be at liberty to retire whithersoever he pleases, with his moveables, effects, and whatever belongs to him, provided the place of his retirement be in the interior of the kingdom.—

11. The houses and effects of all persons who may be absent by order, or leave, business, or any other cause, shall be respected, and the proprietors shall be at liberty to return when they find it convenient.—12. The benefit of a general amnesty, granted by the emperor and king

in his own name as well as in the name of his majesty king Joseph Napoleon, shall be extended to the garrison and the inhabitants of Corunna, as also to persons who have filled official situations. For this purpose no individual shall be prosecuted, arrested, or punished, for any share they may have had in the disturbances which have agitated the kingdom, nor for their speeches, writings or actions, the measures, resolutions, or orders, which have been adopted or executed during the commotions.—The benefit of the same general amnesty shall be extended to all the towns, villages, and communes of the kingdom of Galicia, as soon as they shall have submitted, and as soon as the inhabitants shall have taken the oath of fidelity to his majesty the king Joseph Napoleon.—13. The laws, customs, and dress of the people shall be preserved without any infringement, or modification; the laws shall be those which are, or shall be established by the constitution of the kingdom.—Done at Corunna, the 19th day of Jan. 1809.

(Signed) Marshal the Duke of DALMATIA.  
ANTONIO DE ALZEDO.

*Thirty-second Bulletin.*

The duke of Dalmatia, being arrived before Ferrol, caused the place to be invested. Negotiations were begun. The civil authorities, and the military and naval officers, manifested a disposition to surrender; but the people, fomented by the spies whom the English had left, resisted. On the 24th, the duke of Dalmatia received two messengers, one sent by admiral Melgarejo, commander of the Spanish squadron, and the other, who came across the mountains, sent by the military commanders. These couriers were both sent without the knowledge of the people. They stated that the authorities were under the yoke of a furious populace, excited and paid by the agents of England, and that 8000 men belonging to the city and its environs were in arms.—The duke of Dalmatia had to resolve upon opening the trenches; but from the 24th to the 25th various movements were manifest in the town. The 17th regiment of light infantry had repaired to Murgardos; the 31st regiment of light infantry were at the forts of La Palma and St. Martin, and at Lagrana; and as they blockaded the fort St. Philip, the people began to fear the consequences of an assault, and to listen to men of sense. On the 26th, three flags of truce, furnished with authority, and the annexed letter, arrived at the head quar-

ters, and signed the surrender of the place. On the 27th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the town was occupied by the division Mermet, and by a brigade of dragoons. On the same day the garrison was disarmed; the disarming also produced 5000 musquets. The people who do not belong to Ferrol, have been remanded to their villages. The men who had stained themselves with blood during the insurrection, have been arrested. Admiral Obregon, whom the people had arrested during the insurrection, has been put at the head of the arsenal. There have been found in the port three vessels of 112 guns, two of 88, one of 74, two of 64, three frigates, and a considerable number of corvettes, brigs, and unarmed vessels, more than 1500 pieces of cannon of every size, and ammunition of all kinds.—It is probable that, but for the precipitate retreat of the English, and the affair of the 16th, they would have occupied Ferrol, and seized this beautiful squadron. The military and naval officers have taken the oath to king Joseph with the greatest enthusiasm. What they relate of their sufferings from the lowest classes of the people and the English, is inconceivable. Order reigns in Galicia, and the authority of the king is re-established in this province, one of the most considerable of the Spanish Monarchy.—General Laborde has found at Corunna, on the sea shore, seven pieces of cannon, which the English had buried on the 16th, not being able to take them away. La Romana, abandoned by the English and his own troops, has fled with 500 men, in order to throw himself into Andalusia. There remained at Lisbon only about 4 or 5000 Englishmen. All the hospitals and all the magazines were embarked, and the garrison were preparing to abandon this nation, as indignant at the perfidy of the English, as they are disgusted by the difference of manners and religion, by the continual and brutal intemperance of the English troops, and that arrogance and ill founded pride which renders this nation odious to the Continent.

*Thirty-third Bulletin, dated Paris, March 9.*

“ The duke of Dalmatia arrived at Tuy on the 10th February. The whole province is subdued.—He collected all his forces in order to cross the Minho on the following day. He was to reach Oporto between the 15th and 20th, and Lisbon between the 20th and 28th.—The English have embarked at Lisbon, in order to abandon Portugal. The rage of the Portuguese

was at its utmost height, and every day considerable and bloody conflicts between the Portuguese and English took place. In Galicia the duke of Elchingen had completed the organization of the province. Admiral Massaredo is arrived at Ferrol, and has begun to revive the labours of that important arsenal.—Peace is restored in all the provinces under the command of the duke of Istria, which lie between the Pyrenees, the sea, Portugal, and the chain of mountains which cover Madrid. Security follows days of disorder and desolation.—Daily deputations repair on all sides to the King, at Madrid. Re-organisation and public spirit are quickly springing up under the new administration.—The duke of Belluno has marched to Badajoz; he has restored to peace and disarmed the whole of Lower Estremadura.—Saragossa has surrendered; the calamities which have befallen this unhappy town, are a terrifying example to the people. The peace which has been restored in Saragossa extends to the whole of Arragon, and the two armies, which were around the town, have been set at liberty. Saragossa was the centre of the insurrection of Spain; it was in this town that the party was formed which wished to call in a prince of the House of Austria to reign on the Tagus. The individuals of this party had partly inherited these notions, which are irretrievably destroyed, from their ancestors, during the war of the Succession.—The battle of Tudela was won on the 23rd of November, and after the 27th, the French army was encamped at a small distance from Saragossa. The people of this town were armed. The peasants of Arragon had repaired thither, and Saragossa contained 50,000 men, formed into regiments of 1000 men, and companies of 100. The general officers and subalterns consisted of monks. A body of 10,000 men, who had escaped from Tudela, had thrown themselves into the town, which was furnished with provisions, heaped up in innumerable magazines, and defended by 200 pieces of cannon. The image of Our Lady of Pilar wrought miracles at the head of the monks, who, by such means, animated the zeal, and preserved the confidence of the multitude. In the field these 50,000 men would not have withstood three regiments, but shut up in their town, and wrought upon by the leaders of parties, how could they escape the miseries which ignorance and fanaticism heap upon the heads of so many wretches?—Every thing possible was done to enlighten them, and bring them to reason. Im-

mediately after the battle of Tudela, the belief entertained at Saragossa, that Madrid held out, and that they might be relieved; and that the armies at Somosierra, Guadarama, Estremadura, Leon, and Catalonia, might furnish a pretext for the chiefs of the insurgents to keep alive the fanaticism of the inhabitants; it was resolved not to surround the town, but to permit it to maintain a communication with all Spain, in order that they might be informed of the annihilation of the Spanish armies, and of the circumstances which attended the entrance of the French army into Madrid; but all this intelligence came to the ears of the ringleaders alone, and was unknown by the body of the people. The truth was not only concealed from them, but their courage was kept up by lies. At one time, the French had lost 40,000 men before Madrid, at another time, Romana had entered France, and the French eagles were compelled to fly before the terrible leopard. This period sacrificed to political objects, in order to allow a multitude to come to reason, who were infatuated by fanaticism, and a terror inspired by their enraged leaders, was not lost to the French army.—The general of engineers, Lacoste, aid de-camp of the emperor, and an officer of the greatest merit, collected at Alagon the materials and instruments for mining, in order to carry on the subterraneous war, which the emperor had commanded.—The general of division, Dedon, who commanded the artillery, collected a great quantity of mortars, bombs, and howitzers of every calibre. All these were brought from Pampeluna, seven days march from Saragossa. In the mean time it was observed, that the enemy had availed himself of this delay in order to fortify Monte Torrero, and other strong positions. On the 20th of December the division of Suchet drove him from the heights of St. Lambert, and from two outworks which were within reach of the town. The division of general Gazan drove the enemy from the heights of St. Gregorio, and with the 21st regiment of light infantry, and the 100th regiment of the line, took the redoubts which were thrown up in the suburbs, and defended the roads of Sueva and Barcelona. He also made himself master of a great laboratory near Galliego, in which 500 Swiss had entrenched themselves. On the same day, the duke of Cornegliano made himself master of the works and positions of Monte Torrero; he took all the cannon, made a great number of prisoners, and did great injury to

the enemy.—The duke of Cornegliano being sick, the duke of Abrantes came at the beginning of January, and took the command of the third division. He signalized his arrival by taking the monastery of St. Joseph, and pursued his advantages on the 16th of Jan. by taking the bridge of La Hueba, where his troops fixed themselves. The chief of battalion Stahl, of the 14th regiment of the line, distinguished himself in the attack on the monastery of St. Joseph, and the lieut. Victor D. Bution was the first in the assault.—The circumvention of Saragossa was not yet resolved upon; that was considered as inexpedient; and a free communication was still left open, in order that the insurgents might be informed of the defeat of the English, and their infamous flight out of Spain. It was on the 16th of Jan. that the English were driven into the sea at Corunna, and it was on the 26th that the operations before Saragossa were seriously begun. The duke of Montebello arrived there on the 20th, in order to assume the command of the siege. As soon as he was assured that the intelligence which was brought into the town had no effect, and that a few monks governed the minds of the people, he resolved to put an end to these indulgences; 50,000 peasants were collected on the left banks of the Ebro: at Pardiguera the duke of Treviso attacked them with three regiments; and, notwithstanding the fine position they possessed, the 64th regiment routed them, and threw them into disorder. The 10th regiment of hussars was on the plain to receive them, and a great number remained upon the field of battle. Nine pieces of cannon and several standards were the trophies of this victory.—At the same time, the duke of Montebello had sent the adjutant-commandant, Gosquet, to Zueira, in order to disperse an assemblage of insurgents; this officer attacked 4000 of them with three battalions, overthrew them, and took four pieces of cannon, with their carriages and horses. Gen. Vattier was at the same time sent with 300 infantry, and 200 cavalry, towards Valencia. He met 5000 insurgents at Alcanitz, compelled them, even in the town, to throw down their arms in their flight; he killed 600 men, and seized magazines, provisions, and arms; among the last were 100 English muskets. The adjutant-commandant, Carrion Nizos, conducted himself gloriously at the head of a column of infantry. Col. Burthe, of the 4th regiment of hussars, and the chief of battalion,

Camus, of the 28th regiment of light infantry, distinguished themselves. These operations took place between the 20th and 26th of January.—On the 26th the town was seriously attacked, and the batteries were unmasks, and at noon, on the 27th, the breach was practicable in several places; the troops were lodged in the monastery of San-in-Gracia. The division of Grandjean entered some thirty houses. The col. Caloiscki and the soldiers of the Weixel, distinguished themselves. At the same moment, the general of division, Morlat, in an attack upon the left wing, made himself master of the whole fore-ground of the enemy's defence. Captain Guttemar, at the head of the pioneers, and thirty-six grenadiers of the 44th regiment, had, with a rare intrepidity, ascended the breach. M. Babieski, an officer of the Voltigeurs of the Weixel, a young man seventeen years of age, and covered with seven wounds, was the first who appeared upon the breach. The chief of battalion, Lejune, aide-de-camp to the prince of Neufchatel, distinguished himself and received two slight wounds. The chief of battalion, Haxo, is also slightly wounded, and likewise distinguished himself.—On the 30th, the monasteries of the Monique and Greek Augustines were occupied. Sixty houses were possessed by undermining. The miners of the 14th regiment distinguished themselves.—On the 1st of Feb. general Lacoste received a ball, and died in the field of honour. He was a brave and distinguished officer. He has been lamented by the whole army, but more especially by the Emperor. Colonel Regniet succeeded him in the command of the engineers, and in the management of the siege. The enemy defended every house. Three attacks were made by mines, and every day several houses were blown up, and afforded the troops an opportunity of stationing themselves in other houses.—Thus we proceeded to the Cossa (a great street in Saragossa) where we made ourselves masters of the buildings of the public school and university. The enemy endeavoured to oppose miners to miners; but less used to this sort of operation, their miners were every day discovered and suffocated. This mode of besieging rendered our progress slow, but sure, and less destructive to the army. While three companies of miners and eight companies of sappers carried on this subterraneous war, the consequences of which were so dreadful, the fire on the town was kept up by mortars. Ten days

[477] After the attack had begun, the surrender of the town was anticipated. The army had possessed itself of one third of the houses, and fortified itself in them. The church which contained the image of Our Lady of Pilar, which by so many miracles had promised to defend the town, was battered down by bombs, and no longer inhabitable. The duke of Montebello deemed it necessary to take possession of the left bank of the river, in order that his fire might reach the middle of the town. The general of division, Gazan, made himself master of the bridge by a sudden and impetuous attack, on the morning of the 17th February.) A battery of fifty pieces was played off at three in the afternoon. A battalion of the 28th regiment attacked and took possession of a very large monastery, the walls of which were of brick, and from three to four feet thick. General Gazan then repaired with rapidity to the bridge, over which the insurgents made their retreat to the town: he killed a vast number, made 4000 prisoners, amongst whom were two generals, 12 colonels, 19 lieut.-colonels and 230 officers. He took 30 pieces of artillery. Nearly all the troops of the town had beset this important post, which had been threatened since the 10th. At the same moment the duke of Abrantes entered the Casso through several covered ways, and by means of two mines, blew up the extensive buildings of the Schaals. After these events terror was spread throughout the town. The Junta, in order to procure delay, and obtain time to abate the terror of the inhabitants, sought a parley; but their bad faith was known, and this artifice was useless.—Thirty other houses were possessed by undermining, or by mines.—At length, on the 21st of Feb. the whole town was possessed by our troops: 15,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry laid down their arms at the gate of Portilla, and 40 flags, and 160 pieces of cannon, were delivered up. The insurgents lost 20,000 men during the siege; 13,000 were found in the hospitals; 500 died daily.—The duke of Montebello would allow no capitulation to the town of Saragossa. He only published the following provisions:—[The garrison shall at noon, on the 21st, lay down their arms at the gate of Portilla, where they shall remain prisoners of war. Those of the troops of the line, who are willing to take the oath to King Joseph, may be allowed to enter into his service.—In case this entrance shall not be permitted by the minister of war to the king of Spain, they shall be pri-

soners of war and sent to France. The worship of God shall be reverenced. All the artillery and ammunition of every kind shall be delivered up. All the arms shall be deposited at the doors of the different houses, and collected by the respective Alcades.]—The magazines of corn, rice, and fruit, which have been found in the town, are very considerable.—The duke of Montebello has nominated general Laval governor of Saragossa.—A deputation of the priesthood and different inhabitants has set out for Madrid.—Palafox is dangerously ill. He was the object of the contempt of the whole hostile army, who accused him of arrogance and meanness. He was never seen where there was any danger.—The count de Fuentes, grandee of Spain, who had been arrested by the insurgents two months ago on his estates, and found in a dungeon of eight feet square, was released: no idea can be formed of the miseries he had undergone.”

**CAPTURE OF CAYENNE.**—*Capitulation proposed by Victor Hugues, Officer of the Legion of Honour, Commissioner of his Majesty the Emperor and King, Commander in Chief of Cayenne and French Guyana, and accepted by James Lucas Yeo, Post-Captain in his Britannic Majesty's Service, commanding the Combined Naval English and Portuguese Forces, and Manuel Marques, Knight of the Military Orders of St. Benoit d'Avic, Licut. Col. in Chief, and Director of the Corps of Artillery of Para, commanding the advanced Army of the Portuguese, dated Jan. 12th, 1809.*

ALTHOUGH the advanced posts have been carried, and that the commissioner of the emperor and king is reduced with his garrison to the town, he owes it to those sentiments of honour which have always distinguished him, to the valour and good conduct of the officers and soldiers under his command, to the attachment of the inhabitants of the colony for his majesty the emperor and king, to declare publicly, that he surrenders less to the force than to the destructive system of liberating all the slaves who should join the enemy, and of burning all the plantations and ports where there should be any resistance.—The commissioner of the emperor commanding in chief, after having witnessed the burning of several plantations, particularly his own, the most considerable of the colony, had attributed it at first to the casualties of war; and the disorganization of the gangs, and the liberation of the slaves, appeared to him a momentary measure;

but being assured in writing, that the English and Portuguese officers acted in virtue of the orders of his royal highness the Prince Regent, and wishing to save the colony from total destruction, and to preserve his august master's subjects, who had given him so many proofs of their attachment and fidelity, the commissioner of his imperial and royal majesty surrenders the colony to the forces of his royal highness the Prince Regent on the following conditions:—Art. 1. The garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage and all the honours of war; the officers shall retain their side arms, and those of the staff their horses; the garrison shall lay down their arms, and engage not to serve against his royal highness and his allies during one year.—2. Vessels shall be furnished at the expence of his royal highness the Prince Regent, to carry the garrison, the officers civil and military, and all those employed in the service, with their families and effects, direct to France with as little delay as possible.—3. A convenient vessel shall be furnished to convey to France the commissioner of the emperor commanding in chief, his family, his officers, his suit and effects; the chief of the administration of the finances, the commander of the troops, the inspector and the commandant of artillery, with their families.—4. A convenient delay shall be granted to the officers who have property in the colony, to settle their affairs.—5. The arsenals, batteries, and every thing belonging to the artillery, the small arms and powder magazines, and the provision stores, shall be given up by inventory, and in the state in which they are now, and the same shall be pointed out.—6. The slaves on both sides shall be disarmed, and sent to their respective plantations.—The French negroes whom the Commanders by sea and land of his royal highness the Prince Regent have engaged for the service during the war, and to whom in virtue of their orders they have given their freedom, shall be sent out of the colony, as they can only remain there in future an object of trouble and dissension.—The Commanders engage, as they have promised, to solicit of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent the replacing of those slaves, as an indemnity in favour of the inhabitants to whom they belong.—7. The

papers, plans, and other articles belonging to the engineer department, shall be equally given up.—8. The sick and wounded who are obliged to remain in the colony may leave it, with all that belong to them, as soon as they are in a situation to do so; in the mean time they shall be treated as they have been hitherto.—9. Private property, of whatever nature or description, shall be respected, and the inhabitants may dispose of it as heretofore.—10. The inhabitants of the colony shall preserve their properties and may reside there, conforming to the orders and forms established by the sovereign under which they remain; they shall be at liberty to sell their properties and retire wherever it may suit them, without any obstacle.—11. The Civil Laws known in France under the title of the Napoleon Code, and in force in the colony, shall be observed and executed until the Peace between the two Nations; the magistrates shall only decide on the interests of individuals, and differences connected with them in virtue of the said laws.—12. The debts acknowledged by individuals during or previous to the time fixed by the preceding article, shall be exacted agreeably to the basis determined by the same article.—13. The papers concerning the controul and matriculation of the troops shall be carried away by the quarter master.—14. Desirous of preserving the spice plantation called La Gabrielle in all its splendour and agriculture, it is stipulated that neither it, nor any of the plantation trees or plants, shall be destroyed, but that it shall be preserved in the state in which it is given up to the Commanders of his royal highness the Prince Regent.—15. All the papers of the stores of inspection of the Customs, or of any responsibility whatever, shall be deposited in the Secretary's Office, or in any other place that may be agreed on, to be referred to when there is occasion; the whole shall be under the seal of the two governments, and at the disposal of his imperial and royal majesty.—16. The present Capitulation shall be written in the three languages and signed by the three officers stipulating.—At the advanced posts of Bourde, this 12th Jan. 1809.—(Signed) VICTOR HUGUES, JAMES LUCAS YEO, MANUEL MARQUES.